

FOUNDATION OF THE EOKA LIBERATION STRUGGLE 1955-1959

Series A': Sources and References to the EOKA Struggle, No 5

ANDREAS VARNAVAS

**A HISTORY OF THE LIBERATION
STRUGGLE OF EOKA
(1955-1959)**



NICOSIA 2004

FOUNDATION OF THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE 1955-1959

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Detail from the relief sculpture *FREEDOM MARCH* by Evangelos Moustakas, at the MEMORIAL of the EOKA Liberation Struggle 1955-1959.



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ANDREAS VARNAVAS

A HISTORY OF THE LIBERATION
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(1955 - 1959)

*Translated
by Philippos Stylianou*

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TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

Andreas Varnavas, the author of this first-ever comprehensive history of the EOKA liberation struggle in Greek, was modest enough to acknowledge the difficulty he encountered in trying to put together so many political and military events that transpired in a relatively short period of four years. He accomplished this in a way that has made the translator's task particularly taxing and at the same time a challenging and highly enjoyable one.

Unlike other historians who prefer to do most of the talking and cite but sparingly the words of the history makers themselves, Andreas Varnavas has opted in his work to accord them an equal, if not predominant say. He quotes extensively, quite often in full, from speeches, statements, documents, narrations and testimonies by the protagonists of the 1955-59 Cypriot struggle, be they Greek Cypriot, Turkish Cypriot, British, mainland Greek or Turk.

I dare say, and this without having sought confirmation from the author, that the book is written in an epic form, whereby the writer assumes the part of a narrator of events and lets the characters speak for themselves. Whether this has been the design of the author in order to underline the epic proportions of the struggle, as the Greeks have come to view it, or a practical approach to the work undertaken, I am not in a position to say. However, the contrast between his own frugal writing style, almost epigrammatic at times, and the elaborate language used in the quotations, gives rise to suspicion that the former is the case. The effect achieved is uniquely rewarding and powerful.

For the translator this particularity of the work meant that he had to cope not with a uniform style and mentality, but with several. The author's straightforward Greek was easily transferable into English, but the same cannot be said for Archbishop Makarios' oratorical language with its Byzantine nuances for which he was famous; nor for that of General George Grivas-Dighenis, the EOKA leader, whose underground leaflets and secret correspondence were likewise written in an intricately rich katharevousa, the purist form of

scholarly Greek much used in that period. While adhering to the golden rule of translation, to render faithfully the meaning of texts, an attempt was also made to preserve as much as possible the literary flourish and linguistic cadence of the original within the constraints of the more formulaic English language. I am well aware that in so doing I may have taken certain liberties for which I beg the reader's pardon and understanding.

Besides Makarios and Grivas, quite a few other personages, Cypriot and foreign, feature in the book through quotations, each meriting particular care and treatment, including two rather lengthy poems. Indeed, I thought it necessary in a number of cases to introduce my own footnotes, in order to help the English reader to better understand and appreciate some of the Greek intricacies that abound in this volume.

English quotations also have their fair share in Andreas Varnavas' history and this is where the translator's work became most frustrating and perplexing, as I had to turn them again into English from their Greek translation, an unattainable task in terms of accuracy and syntax. They include several statements or announcements by the last two colonial Governors of Cyprus and many politicians in London, as well as police bulletins, decrees, enactments and other official texts. The ideal solution to the problem posed by the ...translation of the translation of these quotations would have been to find the original English and simply copy them out. Unfortunately, the author's use of them was in an already translated form from Greek sources and to embark on a general quest of the authentic English texts would have been beyond the translator's mandate. Only two of the quotations were readily traceable in the original, both famous ones for their disparity in British policy towards Cyprus: Winston Churchill's encouragement to the Greek Cypriots to pursue their national aspirations when he visited Cyprus as Junior Colonial Secretary in 1907, and the shocking statement made by his successor Henry Hopkinson 47 years later in the House of Commons that the Cypriots could never hope to be fully independent.

English proper names spelled with Greek characters presented a really despairing aspect of the same problem. Unlike text quotations, names cannot be translated; they simply have to be reinstated in their original language. This posed no serious problem as far as the main English personalities in the book were concerned but proved intractable when it came to lesser-known characters, such as military officers, intelligence service agents and interrogators. Despite frantic efforts by rummaging through historical archives, the index of many English works on the Cyprus problem and even checking with English-speaking persons, the spelling of some of these names has escaped unverified. For this and for the re-rendering of cited English texts in general, I throw myself at the mercy of the reader.

By the very title of the book it is made plain enough that the author has set out to present the eventful period 1955-1959 from the Greek point of view. While this is not likely to make pleasant reading for an English public, it is guaranteed that they will find it interesting and perhaps exhilarating to discover the feelings, thoughts and ideas, indeed the very psyche of a small people that confronted the British Empire, laid bare by themselves through their own written and spoken words. Never before have such authentic documents from that period been quoted so exhaustively in a single work and the fact that the other parties to the conflict are in this respect accorded similar treatment, in my opinion restores the objectivity that must underline any work of a historical nature.

However lonely the work of a translator may be, there is always room for thanks which in my case are due to the author Andreas Varnavas for disentangling some of the book's knotty points, and to Andreas Angelopoulos, President of the Council for the Historical Memory of the EOKA Struggle 1955-1959, for being so patient with me.

Philippos Stylianou

PREFACE

The task of compiling the History of the EOKA liberation struggle is rendered difficult by manifold events, both political and military, interwoven over a four-year period (1955-1959). A large number of persons with varying degrees of contribution each were involved in these events. For this reason not everything can be recorded in a book addressed to the reading public at large. The reference to the individual contribution of EOKA members is, therefore, to a very large extent limited. To have attempted the opposite would have required many years of research, covering many more hundreds of pages.

This book presents the main events, without reference to the names of those who participated in them, except in those cases where this was deemed necessary.

The books by EOKA leader General George Grivas - Dighenis, "Memoirs of the EOKA Struggle 1955 - 1959" and "The Chronicle of the EOKA Struggle 1955-1959" provide all the relevant information in more detail. The Council for the Historical Memory of the EOKA Struggle 1955 - 1959" and many authors have published quite a few works, covering more particular aspects of the liberation struggle and the lives of EOKA heroes.

This book records the development of events during the Struggle and offers a general view, without detailed descriptions. To what degree this aim has been achieved it is up to the reader to judge.

ANDREAS VARNAVAS

INTRODUCTION

Cyprus endured continuous subjugation for almost eight centuries (1191-1960 A.D.), following its conquest by the King of England Richard the Lionheart, who had taken part in the Third Crusade for the liberation of the Holy Land. The Knight Templars, the Lusignans, the Venetians, the Turks and the English were the ruling powers that oppressed its people and exploited its wealth.

Despite the difficult situations under which the subjugated Cypriot people found themselves, they maintained an unshakeable faith in their Greek origin and resisted in many ways any attempt to change their Greek way of life. The Greek poet Costes Palamas summed up Cyprus' Grecian soul in his celebrated verse, "Many a master you have changed, but you never had a change of heart." Education and the Church played a very important part in the historical course of the Cypriot people.

In all the long years of enslavement, the burning desire for freedom had never been extinguished in the soul of the Cypriot people. But the overwhelming power of the occupiers would not allow its fulfillment.

The take-over of Cyprus by the British, who succeeded the Turks (1878), rekindled the hopes of the Cypriots for emancipation and Enosis - union of the island with Greece.

A few years earlier (1864), the British Government had ceded the Ionian Islands to Greece, which has since been part of the Greek territory.

For 77 years the Cypriots had sought their liberation from the English yoke and the union of Cyprus with Greece by peaceful means, but to no avail. Disillusionment followed disillusionment. So, in 1955 they embarked on an armed struggle to claim what was rightfully theirs.

Recorded in the pages that follow are the main events that led to the preparation and the waging of this struggle, which shook the world with the sacrifices, holocausts and executions by hanging of the brave young men of EOKA.

CHAPTER 1

THE COLONIAL PERIOD

1. THE ASPIRATION OF THE CYPRIOTS FOR UNION WITH GREECE

The Cypriot people, being conscious of their Greek ancestry, strove in many ways through all the years of British occupation to achieve the fulfillment of their desire for union of Cyprus with Greece. Their agitation reached a climax in the massive response to the enosis - union - plebiscite of 15th January 1950. British policy, however, opposed the national feelings of the people and always regarded the Cyprus issue as closed.

Moves and protests by the Cypriots for union of Cyprus with Greece

The British occupation of Cyprus began on 12 July 1878. Turkey ceded the island to Britain in exchange for the contribution and support the latter had offered the former during the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-1878. Britain undertook the obligation to pay an annual lease of about 92,800 pounds to Turkey.

Archbishop Sofronios in his address to Sir Garnet Wolseley, first appointed Governor of Cyprus, emphasized the following:

*"We accept the change of rule all the more because we are convinced that Great Britain will help Cyprus, as it did in the case of the Ionian Islands, to unite with its motherland Greece, to which it is naturally attached."*¹

Another view holds that Bishop Kyprianos of Kition spoke these words in welcoming the Governor at Larnaca on 22 July 1878.

In all the of succeeding years of British rule the Cypriots incessantly expressed their national feelings to the British authorities and in

1. Nikos Kranidiotis, "Cyprus in the struggle for freedom," Athens 1958, pp. 25-26.

many ways demonstrated their desire for union of Cyprus with Greece. The British always maintained a negative attitude, since the colonial spirit dictated the decisions of their successive governments on Cyprus.

In 1889 a Cypriot deputation went to London to ask the British Government to fulfil the island's desire for enosis.

Mass rallies were held in 1895 for the same purpose in Nicosia, Limassol, Paphos, Larnaca and Famagusta. There followed a memorandum to the Colonial Secretary Neville Chamberlain in which the following were also stated:

*"The Greek people, constituting the four fifths of the entire population of the island, has raised a cry throughout, that it has one and only desire, the union with its mother Greece, having resolved to resist by any means, including even desperate ones, any other solution of the Cyprus issue."*²

The breakout of the Greco-Turkish war in 1897 which aimed at the liberation of Turkish-held parts of Greece, moved the Greeks of Cyprus deeply and 6.318 of them joined the Greek army as volunteers, fighting in the third brigade under Colonel Constantinos Smolenski and distinguishing themselves for their valour.

In 1902 rallies were held in all the towns of Cyprus calling for the union of the island with Greece.

The Greek Cypriot people also demonstrated their national feelings on the occasion of the visit to Cyprus (9-13 October 1907) of Winston Churchill, then Under-Secretary for the Colonies. They demanded union of Cyprus with Greece in spontaneous demonstrations. In his address to the Greek Cypriot representatives, Churchill ruled out any change in government but stated:

*"I think it is only natural, that the Cypriot people who are of Greek descent, should regard their incorporation with what may be called their mother country, as an ideal to be earnestly, devoutly and fervently cherished."*³

2. Nikos Kranidiotis, op.cit., p.31.

3. Nikos Kranidiotis, op.cit., p.37.

More demonstrations in favour of Greece and its union with Cyprus took place during the Balkan Wars of 1912-1913, with thousands of Cypriot volunteers enlisting enthusiastically to fight for the liberation of enslaved regions of Hellenism. Among the volunteers was the Mayor of Limassol Christodoulos Sozos, who fell in the line of duty on the Epirus Mountains on 6 December 1912.

In 1914 Britain annexed Cyprus rendering void the argument that had so far been advanced that union of Cyprus with Greece was not possible because the actual sovereign was the Turkish Sultan.

On the occasion of the island's annexation the Greek people of Cyprus once again demanded Union of Cyprus with Greece, but still without result.

Following the end of World War 1 (1914-1918) in which eleven thousand Cypriot volunteers took part fighting for the freedom of peoples, a Cypriot delegation went to London to put forward the demand for the union of Cyprus with Greece (January 1919). At the same time, memoranda and telegrams on the same issue were sent from Cyprus to the British Prime Minister.

A Pan-Cyprian Assembly was convened on 10 October 1921, at the centenary celebrations for the Greek Revolution of 1821, which declared that *"there is only one and unwavering demand of the Cypriot people, union with Greece."*⁴

In 1928 the Cyprus Government staged celebrations on the island's fiftieth anniversary of English occupation. Naturally the Greeks of Cyprus took no part. The Archbishop of Cyprus Kyrillos III sent a memorandum to the British Government in which among other things he said:

*"For 50 years we have been kept away from the motherly arms, we are being kept away even now, despite the unanimous opinion we expressed many times, on many occasions and in as many ways, to unite with our Motherland Greece."*⁵

4. Nikos Kranidiotis, op.cit., p.37.

5. Nikos Kranidiotis, op.cit. p.43, Savvas Loizides, "Unfortunate Cyprus," Athens 1980, p.22.

In 1929 a Cyprus deputation headed by the Bishop of Kition Nicodemus Mylonas, went to London to petition for the union of Cyprus with Greece. The Colonial Secretary Lord Passfield on 28 November stated the following on the issue:

*"My answer on the enosis issue cannot but be the same as the one given by successive Colonial Secretaries to similar demands in the past, that His Majesty's Government is unable to accede to it. This matter has, in their opinion, definitely closed and can no longer be usefully discussed."*⁶

The national uprising of October 1931

The state of affairs on the island led to an uprising by the people in October 1931, as the overall attitude of the English rulers kept disappointing the population. Certain economic grievances precipitated the events.

The Legislative Council functioning at the time comprised 9 Greek Cypriots, 3 Turkish Cypriots and 6 high-ranking government employees. In the event of a tie the English Governor had the casting vote. The composition of the Legislative Council prevented certain positions of the Greek Cypriot deputies from receiving approval and also rendered their reactions ineffective when they disagreed on other matters.

On 17 October, Bishop Nicodemus Mylonas of Kition tendered his resignation from the office of deputy in the Legislative Council and at the same time he issued a proclamation to the Greek Cypriot people, in which he called for disobedience to the "lawless laws" of the foreign oppressor.

The Bishop's proclamation began as follows:

"Greek brothers,

Fifty and three years of English occupation have convinced everybody and confirmed unequivocally that: a) subject peoples cannot

6. Nikos Kranidiotis, op.cit., pp 43-44, General George Grivas-Digenis, "Memoirs of the EOKA Struggle 1955-1959", Athens 1961, p.6.

free themselves with pleas and supplications and appeals to the feelings of the tyrants, b) the answer of the latter is to despise the supplicating lowly servants and show more audacity, c) our only salvation in every respect lies in our national deliverance, since the foreigners are here to serve their general and particular interests, the certain outcome being our moral and material degradation."

On 18 October the "National Radical Union of Cyprus" (E.R.E.K.) was founded, which issued a proclamation to the Cyprus people signed by intellectuals from all over the island. In it they stated clearly that they *"set as their aim to pursue with fanaticism the union of Cyprus with the entire Greek state."*⁷

The rest of the Greek deputies resigned from the Legislative Council within the next few days.

Bishop Nicodemus Mylonas addressed a massive gathering that took place in Limassol on 20 October at the city stadium. He referred to his resignation and to the general political situation, which had been created over the past few days.

On 21 October, a very large crowd of people assembled at the Nicosia Commercial Club, where passionate speakers created a very enthusiastic atmosphere. The people then marched towards Government House to demonstrate their unwavering resolve for union of Cyprus with Greece. Leading the big crowd was Archimandrite Dionysios Kykkotis, chief priest of the holy church of Phaneromeni. There followed the stoning of Government House and the torching of four cars of the occupation forces, as well as of the wooden structure of Government House. The intervention of the police to disperse the crowd resulted in the death of Onoufrios Clerides and the wounding of six other demonstrators. The Governor Sir Ronald Storrs abandoned Government House.

Similar protests took place in other towns and many Cypriot villages. The English eventually managed to impose order with the help of the army, having left dead and many injured people behind. Ar-

7. Nikos Kranidiotis, op.cit., pp. 47,49.

rests, confinements, deportations, imprisonments and monetary fines followed. The Bishop of Kition Nicodemus Mylonas and the Kyrenia Bishop Makarios Myrianthefs, later Archbishop Makarios II of Cyprus (1947-1950), were among the exiled.

This spontaneous powerful uprising by the people was described as *"the ripe expression of long-seething disappointment and the manifestation of overflowing national feelings."*⁸

In the nine years following the above October events (1931-1940) the Cypriot people endured a period of crude dictatorship, as their basic constitutional freedoms were abolished and suppressive measures taken against Greek education on the island.

The main measures by the Colonial Government against Greek education on the island

The English Government of Cyprus through all the years of its occupation of the island sought to bring Greek education under its control, both elementary and secondary. This became obvious in the passing of various laws, mainly from 1921 onwards. Parades displaying the Greek flag were banned. In 1923 the Government abolished the elected School Committees in the villages and their duties were taken over by the state appointed Local Authorities. By a 1929 law all teachers became civil servants appointed by the Governor.

The measures taken by the Government were harsher in the period 1931-1940. In 1931 it suspended the operation of the Educational Council and interrupted the state grant to the Ierodidaskaleio - School for Clerics and Teachers - in Larnaca which it ceased to recognize. Consequently the Ierodidaskaleio ceased to function in 1933. Under regulations introduced in 1932, a teacher needed to know the English language in order to be promoted. In the same year the English Director of Education issued a circular banning the Greek national anthem and the portraits of the heroes of the Greek Revolution of 1821 from the schools. By virtue of another law in 1933 all

8. Nikos Kranidiotis, op.cit., p.45.

the powers regarding teachers and primary education were transferred to the Government. The teaching of Greek history was abolished in 1935 and English began to be taught in the last two grades of elementary school. In the same year the Pan-Cyprian Teachers' College in Nicosia was forced to terminate its operation. The Phaneromeni Teachers' College in Nicosia, which trained female teachers, also ceased to function in 1937. It was then (1937) that the Government established the English Teachers' College in Morphou, at which Greek and Turkish students were taught in the English language.

The interference in secondary education began mainly in 1935. With the passing of the law on secondary education, a school could receive government subsidy only if it brought changes to its curriculum in accordance with the guidelines of the English Education Office. By a 1952 law, secondary schools could later become "Subsidized Public Schools" with Government undertaking to pay high salaries to teachers, as well as pensions. Only one school accepted this government proposal. In all other schools teachers preferred the low pay and Greek secondary education free from the English ruler's interference.⁹

Certain anti-Greek measures by the English Government (banning the Greek flag and the Greek national anthem), ceased to apply after 28 October 1940, when the Greek-Italian war broke out. Greece had then fought heroically and in a spirit of self-sacrifice against Fascism and Nazism as an ally of England, which proclaimed that it was fighting for the freedom of peoples.

The Cyprus problem during the decade 1940 - 1950

The Cypriots entertained great expectations for the realization of union with Greece during World War II (1939 - 1945). The amazing Greek exploits in the fighting on the Pindos Mountains whipped up enthusiasm for the allies of Greece, which they exalted in the most

9. Michalakis I. Maratheftis, "The Cyprus educational system - Landmarks and topics," Nicosia, pp. 16-31.

praising of words. Cited by way of example is what the London radio station said in its Greek news bulletin (November 1943):

*"The British Empire shall never forget the country that helped it when nobody else did. We shall repay the Greek 'No' (to Mussolini) in gold. The national aspirations of Greece will be fulfilled in appreciation of its resistance."*¹⁰

During the war the English called on the Cypriots to enlist in the British army, in order to fight *"for Greece and Freedom."* Responding to the call, thirty-five thousand Cypriots were drafted voluntarily in the army and quite a few of them fell fighting in the various battlefields or were taken prisoners and ended up in war camps.

It is worth noting that during World War II the cession of Cyprus to Greece came up in Britain, but nothing happened in the end because the British saw the Cyprus problem in the light of their strategic and defence interests.

The Greek Prime Minister Emmanuel Tsouderos was the first to bring up the issue in April 1941. Following the German advance in continental Greece, the members of the Greek Government and King George II retreated to Crete. When the Germans began to bomb Crete, the Greek Government decided they should abandon it and establish themselves in Cyprus. This is what Premier Tsouderos asked of the British, relying on a telegram sent by Churchill, Prime Minister of Britain, to King George on 13 April 1941. Churchill had congratulated the King on his refusal to leave Greece after the German invasion, promising him at the same time that "if he or part of the Greek army were forced to abandon Greece in the wake of the German invasion, every help would be given them to transfer to Cyprus."

Prime Minister Tsouderos then turned to the British ambassador in Chania, Crete, and asked for the Greek king and the Greek Government to be given permission to go to Cyprus. On 3 May 1941 the

10. "Egertirion Salpisma" (Reveille), periodical publication of EOKA Youth, Issue No 25, 1st November 1958. Edited by the Foundation of the EOKA Liberation Struggle 1955-1959, Nicosia 1999, p.295.

British ambassador sent the following telegram to the British Foreign Office:

"The Prime Minister of Greece has sent me a personal letter in which he suggested, in order to provide encouragement to the Greeks in their current misfortune, to offer Cyprus to the Greek King as a personal gift (as the Ionian Islands were given in 1864 to his grand-father King George I). During the course of the War Britain shall govern the Island through the existing British Authorities. After the war it shall be governed by Greek state officials. In this way, if the king is forced to leave Crete, he shall be transferring his seat to a territory under his sovereignty. I told the King and the Prime Minister that their proposal did not seem feasible and that, in any case, it has been decided that Cyprus is not at all safer than Crete. The King agreed with me that the idea was not feasible and I told him that I would rather prefer not to convey it to the British Government, but the Prime Minister begged me to convey it as his personal suggestion" (File FO371/29884, No 25).

On 6 May 1941 the then British Foreign Secretary replied as follows to the above telegram from the Ambassador:

"I fully agree with the answer that you gave to the King and the Prime Minister. Apart from the fact you pointed out that Cyprus is not at all safer than Crete, this juncture at which Cyprus might suffer an attack is obviously totally unsuitable to consider the possibility of ceding the Island to Greece" (FO371/R4843/6, No 950).

The Greek King and the Greek Government left Crete on 24 May and went to Cairo, Egypt, where they settled.

On 31 May 1941 Anthony Eden submitted a memorandum to the British War Council, in which he referred to the question of ceding Cyprus to Greece. Two excerpts of his proposal are cited below:

- a) *"The problem should be considered in the light of the fact that, regardless of the needs of the present crisis, there is a prima facie case for the cession of Cyprus to Greece, under the reservation of our post-war securities."*
- b) *"Also, if we are pressured by the Greek Government, we must be ready to agree to issue a joint statement, to the effect that*

the two governments have already agreed to discuss the circumstances, under which the sovereignty over the Island should be transferred from G. Britain to Greece." (FO371/29864, WP (41) 118).

Anthony Eden's memorandum was also forwarded to the British Prime Minister Sir Winston Churchill, who in his reply to his Government's minister on 2 June 1941 said among other things the following:

"It is much better to leave all matters of territorial adjustments to be settled after the war. Once we depart from this principle, many other difficult cases might arise" (FO371/29846, R5841).

The decision of the War Council on the same day was the following:

"The Foreign Secretary must not at this stage initiate discussions with Greece about the future of Cyprus. If the issue should arise, however, he could answer that we are ready to discuss the future of Cyprus with them after the war, as part of the general peace settlement" (FO371/29846, R5841, 56 (41)).

The question of ceding Cyprus to Greece again became the concern of British politicians when the war ended in September 1945. The then Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin was inclined towards ceding Cyprus to Greece, but the General Staff of the British Forces and the Colonial Department held an opposing view.

Later, on 15 January 1946, the Colonial Secretary wrote to Ernest Bevin on the same question:

"Besides our strategic and defence interests, we should bear in mind that the cession of Cyprus to Greece would mean abandoning our loyal friends the Muslim Community" (C067/227/16, No 58).

(On this matter see Christophes Economides "The demystified history of the Cyprus problem during the last 50 years," pp. 18-21).

Following the end of the Second World War the Cyprus people, the Church, associations, foundations, organizations and the press were intensely preoccupied with the enosis question of Cyprus. But the foreign rulers did not show that they had any intention of responding positively to this justified popular demand. The national

struggle of the Cypriots continued with memoranda, telegrams and protests against the prolonged British occupation.

The enosis plebiscite of 1950

The Cyprus Church, which in its national leadership role – Ethnarchy – had always been at the forefront of promoting the island's cause for enosis, decided to conduct a plebiscite among all the Greek Cypriots, in order to prove by numbers the real will of the people. An Ethnarchy circular, dated 8 December 1949, called on the Cypriot people to proceed to the churches and vote for union of Cyprus with Greece. The plebiscite took place from 15 to 22 January 1950.

Earlier, Archbishop Makarios II had invited the Governor of Cyprus Sir Andrew Wright to conduct the plebiscite, but he received a negative answer. An extract from the Governor's letter read:

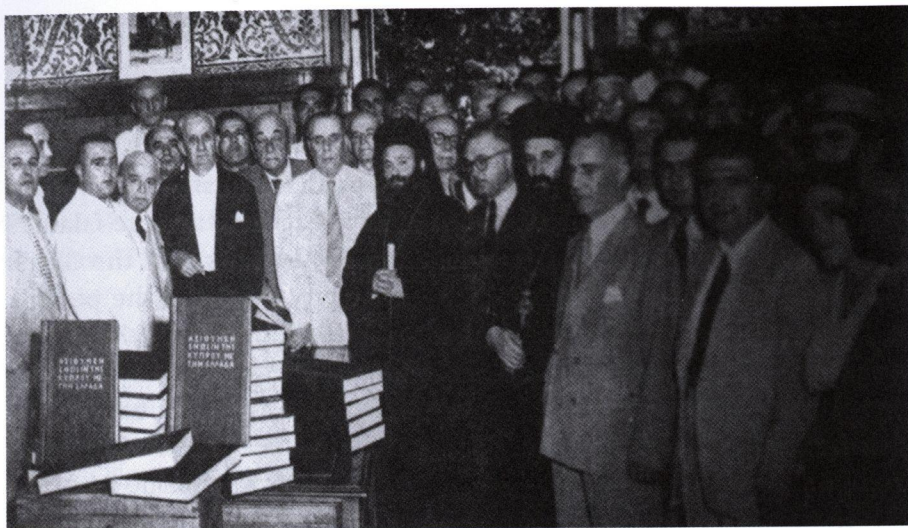
*"The position of His Majesty's Government, and therefore of the Cyprus Government also, on this issue, as has been repeatedly stated, is that the matter is closed."*¹¹

Despite government fears, the plebiscite passed peaceably in a climate of general enthusiasm and clearly showed that 95,7% of the Greeks of Cyprus demanded the union of the island with Greece. Only 4.3% did not come to the ballot to cast their vote. They included civil servants, sick people and the very old.

Archbishop Makarios II announced the result of the plebiscite to the Governor of Cyprus on 4 February 1950, who in his reply of 22 February repeated the position of the British Government that the matter of the union of Cyprus with Greece was closed.

In order to make good the plebiscite result Kyrenia Bishop Kyprianos led an embassy to Athens and handed the President of the Greek Parliament a set of volumes containing the signatures of the Greeks of Cyprus. The embassy went next to London to deliver a second set of volumes to the Colonial Secretary, who refused to meet them.

11. Nikos Kranidiotis, op.cit., p.69.



This snapshot was taken from the presentation of a set of plebiscite volumes to the President of the Greek Parliament.

The embassy then sent him a memorandum, referring to the national cause of the Greek Cypriot people and expressing the wish *"that the British Government would ultimately find a way of handling the Cyprus question in a wider aspect which, while satisfying the national will of the historic people of Cyprus, would also safeguard the superior interests of Britain, being identical to those of Greece."*¹²

The Cypriot delegation gave the plebiscite volumes to the Orthodox church of St Sophia in London.

From London the embassy went on to New York on 26 September 1950 and presented a third set of plebiscite volumes to the United Nations Secretariat together with a petition, asking the competent organs of the international organization to act for the implementation of the self-determination principle in the case of the Cyprus people.

12. Nikos Kranidiotis, op. cit. p.73.

2. ARCHBISHOP MAKARIOS III AND THE ENOSIS QUESTION OF CYPRUS - THE ATTITUDE OF THE ENGLISH

Following the accession of Kition Bishop Makarios to the archiepiscopal throne on 20 October 1950, the enosis question of Cyprus acquired greater dimensions. Gifted with exceptional leadership qualities, the new Archbishop and Ethnarch Makarios III used every occasion to express the unquenchable desire of the Cyprus people for freedom and union of Cyprus with Greece.

In a circular to the Cypriot people dated 13 December 1950 he wrote:

*"Steadfast, disciplined, unyielding let us continue the struggle, with the certainty that our unquestionable right and unwavering resolve will prevail over every obstacle and lead us to the longed-for solution of our only demand, which is the union of Cyprus with Mother Greece."*¹³

Through his speeches in Cyprus Archbishop Makarios fortified the peoples' national morale. With visits to Europe, Asia, and America he informed international public opinion on the Cyprus problem and strove to secure support for the right of the people to liberty and self-determination.

On 25 April 1952 the Ethnarch Makarios gathered by invitation 600 representatives of the Cypriot people in Nicosia, constituting the 1st Pan-Cyprian National Assembly. In his address to the Assembly members he referred to the Cyprus problem and stressed:

*"During the current year we shall exert every effort towards the Greek Government to enroll the issue at the United Nations Organisation, if no solution is found in another way. If, in spite of our hopes, we do not succeed to enroll, we shall neither resign nor despair. We still have at our disposal many other means of continuing the struggle."*¹⁴

13. "The Complete works of Archbishop Makarios III of Cyprus," 1st Vol., edited by the Archbishop Makarios III Foundation, Nicosia 1991, p. 75.

14. "The Complete Works of Archbishop Makarios III of Cyprus," Vol.1, p. 151.

On 27 April 1953, Archbishop Makarios sent a letter to the Governor of Cyprus Sir Andrew Wright, asking him to undertake the conduct of a new plebiscite, in order for the Cyprus people to be given the opportunity to exercise the right of self-determination, in accordance with the United Nations General Assembly Resolution passed on 16 December 1952, which proclaimed the right of peoples to decide how they wanted to be governed.

In his reply the Governor said that the British Government *"does not envisage any change in the sovereignty of Cyprus and considers the matter closed."*¹⁵

On 28 June 1953, Archbishop Makarios called on the Cyprus people to proceed to the Church of Phaneromeni in Nicosia in order to demonstrate its will for freedom and union of Cyprus with Greece. The people readily responded to the call of its leader and about 15 thousand of them flooded the church and the surrounding areas. In his enthusiastic speech the Archbishop said among other things:

*"Friendship between Greece and Britain should be unacceptable on the part of the Cypriot people, since it is one-sided and unjust and Cyprus freedom is being strangled in its name...In our endeavour to regain the freedom we so much desire we shall stretch out both our right and our left hand, to receive any help that might be offered to us from East and West ... We rely above all on our own strength and particularly depend on a struggle 'on the home front.' United and of one mind under the Ethnarchy flag we shall fight consistently and incessantly, by night and day, by all the means and in every way, aspiring to one purpose only: freedom and union with our mother country."*¹⁶

Having in mind the U.N. General Assembly Resolution of 16 December 1952, by which all state-members were urged to support the principle of self-determination for peoples and nations, Archbishop Makarios asked in a letter to the U.N. Secretary General on 10 Au-

gust 1953 for the General Assembly to discuss the Cyprus problem. At the same time he also sent a letter to the Prime Minister of Greece Alexandros Papagos asking the Greek Government to adopt the Cyprus appeal to the U.N., something that did not come about. The Head of the Greek delegation at the U.N., speaking before the General Assembly, said that Greece was interested in the application of the Cypriot people, but it was not adopting it because it wanted the Cyprus problem to be solved through bilateral negotiations with the British Government. The Cyprus problem was, therefore, not approved as an item on the 1953 agenda of the U.N. General Assembly.

It was not easy to bring about a change in British policy on the Cyprus problem as it remained attached to the colonial spirit. This was clearly shown in the words spoken by Great Britain's Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden to the Greek Prime Minister Alexandros Papagos, when they met at the British Embassy in Athens on 22 December 1953.

Speaking in the Greek Parliament on 7 February 1955, Alexandros Papagos referred to his meeting with Anthony Eden, whom he had asked for an amicable settlement of the Cyprus problem between the two allied countries. In this speech the Prime Minister of Greece said:

*"On 22 December 1953 I went to the British Embassy and met with Mr. Eden. At first Mr. Eden extended an official invitation to me by the British Government to visit London... I explained to him the difficult position in which the Greek Government found itself after the recourse of the Cyprus Ethnarchy. Mr. Eden listened to me carefully, but nevertheless he abruptly replied: 'I shall repeat what I have said before, that there is no Cyprus issue for the British Government, neither in the present nor in the future.' I then answered that the Greek Government shall henceforth treat the issue as it thought best and more appropriate and that it assumed from now on full and absolute freedom of action."*¹⁷

15. General George Grivas-Dighenis, "Memoirs ...," p. 7.

16. "The Complete Works of Archbishop Makarios III of Cyprus," Vol.1, pp. 201-202.

17. Nikos Kranidiotis "Difficult years - Cyprus 1950-1960," Athens 1981, pp.65-66, Papastavros Papagathangelou "My testimony. How I lived the preparation and the struggle of EOKA," Nicosia 1995, pp.208-209.

On 23 July 1954, Makarios convened the 2nd Pan-Cyprian National Assembly at St. John's Cathedral under his chairmanship. The representatives of Cyprus' towns and villages expressed their national aspiration unequivocally in a resolution:

*"We declare once more, before God and men, our unchanged and constant will in favour of union with our Mother Greece, to which we are linked by unbreakable ties of blood, language, religion, culture, morals, customs and traditions."*¹⁸

A few days later, on 28 July 1954, the junior Colonial Office minister Henry Hopkinson, speaking in the House of Commons on the Cyprus problem, said that Cyprus was an area of strategic value and the principle of self-determination could "never" be applied to it. He specifically stated:

"...There are certain territories in the Commonwealth which, owing to their particular circumstances, can never expect to be fully independent."

And added:

*"Her Majesty's Government wishes to make clear once again that a change of sovereignty in Cyprus is inconceivable."*¹⁹

Legislation for the curtailment of national demonstrations by the Cypriot people - Criticism from Archbishop Makarios

On 2 August 1954, the Governor of Cyprus through enactments imposed restrictions on national demonstrations by the people. Anyone displaying "seditious intention" was liable to five years imprisonment. Sedition was considered to be the expression of any wish for change in sovereignty over Cyprus.

The Attorney General in statements on this matter said:

"In future the criticism of Government policy should not enter the sphere of sedition. I must make known to all that today's Law on sedition shall from now on be rigidly enforced and that any sedi-

*tious conspiracy, publication (oral or written) and visual presentation carried out with a seditious intent (including intent on bringing about a change in the sovereignty of the island) shall be criminally prosecuted."*²⁰

Archbishop Makarios, on 7 August, sent a letter of protest to the Colonial Secretary of the British Government about the illiberal laws, which aimed at smothering the national expression of the Cypriot people. An extract from the letter said:

*"We note with discontent and indignation the huge contradiction and inconsistency in English policy, which appears on the international stage to advocate the principle of self-determination of peoples, while at the same time it seeks to suppress the Greek people's expressive will in favour of self-determination using terrorist methods, which are reminiscent of the methods used by the fascist forces, against which your nation fought and succeeded to defeat in alliance with Greece. For this reason the methods of the English Administration in Cyprus have been justifiably criticized even by the English press, irrespective of political sympathies."*²¹

On 15 August 1954, Archbishop Makarios criticized the illiberal laws of the Governor in a speech before 10 thousand pilgrims at the Trooditissa monastery. A small excerpt from his speech is the following:

*"The Sovereign has enacted suppressive laws in order to impede our struggle. He has described our inclination to self-determination as an offence and our rush for freedom as sedition. We, on the contrary, firmly believe that the struggle of the Cypriot people to regain its freedom does not constitute a seditious act, but a sacred cause and duty dictated by the unwritten moral law."*²²

Archbishop Makarios continued indefatigable the national policy for union of Cyprus with Greece and castigated the British attitude

18. Nikos Kranidiotis "Cyprus in the struggle for freedom," p.86.

19. General George Grivas - Dighenis, "Memoirs...", p.7, Leontios Ierodikonou, "The Cyprus problem," Athens 1980, p.49.

20. Nikos Kranidiotis, "Cyprus in the struggle for freedom," p.89.

21. "The Complete Works of Archbishop Makarios III of Cyprus," Vol.1, p. 247.

22. Nikos Kranidiotis, "Cyprus in the struggle for freedom," p. 91.

on the issue. On 22 August 1954, he delivered a speech at the holy church of Phaneromeni in Nicosia, stirring deep emotion in the hearts of the Greeks of Cyprus. He concluded as follows:

*"Under these holy domes let us today take the sacred oath: We shall remain faithful to the death to our national demand. Without turning back. Without concessions. Without compromises. We shall despise violence and tyranny. We shall courageously tower with our moral stature over the small and transient obstacles, pursuing only one aim, looking ahead to only one terminal, Enosis and only Enosis."*²³

Greece appeals to the United Nations Organisation on the Cyprus problem -The decision of the General Assembly and the reaction of the Cypriots

On 16 August 1954, the Greek Government submitted an application to the Secretary General of the United Nations asking for the following item to be inscribed on the agenda of the General Assembly:

"The application under United Nations auspices of the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples in the case of the people of Cyprus."

Archbishop Makarios submitted a separate document to the U.N. Secretary General on 22 August in order to strengthen the recourse of the Greek Government. He was asking for the Cyprus question to be placed on the agenda of the General Assembly and provided the necessary information in an attached explanatory memorandum.

The General Committee of the International Organisation on 23 September decided by majority to recommend the inscription of the item on the agenda and on 24 September the General Assembly accepted by majority to do so.

The debate on the Cyprus problem began in the Political Committee on 14 December 1954. The Political Committee on 16 December approved a proposal by Colombia and El Salvador, which

23. "The Complete Works of Archbishop Makarios III of Cyprus," Vol.1, p.

the General Assembly also adopted on 17 December by 50 votes in favour and 8 abstentions. The decision was as follows:

*"The General Assembly, having taken into consideration that it is not at present deemed advisable to make a decision on the question of Cyprus, decides not to examine further the item under the title 'The application under United Nations auspices of the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples in the case of the people of Cyprus.'"*²⁴

The above decision came as a disappointment to the Cypriot people who expressed vehemently their reaction. On 18 December 1954, a general strike took place throughout the island and demonstrations were held in Nicosia and Limassol, resulting in clashes with British troops. The toll of that day was 37 injured and 33 arrests.

Following the failure of his country's appeal to the United Nations for a solution to the Cyprus problem, the Greek Prime Minister Alexandros Papagos assured the Cypriot delegation that *"the Greek Government shall continue with conviction and courage the struggle for the self-determination of Cyprus and shall bring the question back to the next General Assembly of the United Nations."*²⁵

Archbishop Makarios, who had gone to New York to assist in securing a favourable decision from the General Assembly, returned to Cyprus on 10 January 1955. The people gave him an enthusiastic welcome. Addressing them, the Ethnarch proclaimed:

*"Our struggle shall be continuous, intensive and to the end. We shall not capitulate to the sovereign. In no case shall we cooperate with him."*²⁶

The policy of the U.S.A. towards the Cyprus problem in 1954

The policy of the U.S.A. towards the Cyprus problem was closely connected to that of Great Britain, the two countries being bound

24. Nikos Kranidiotis, "Cyprus in the Struggle for Freedom," p.93.

25. Papastavros Papagathangelou, "My testimony...", p. 279.

26. "The complete works of Archbishop Makarios III of Cyprus," Vol. 1, p. 271.

since many years with ties of friendship and alliance. For this reason the U.S.A. did not want a solution to the Cyprus problem through the United Nations. In 1954 they supported a compromise solution, to be agreed between the British Government and the Cypriots, following negotiations between the two parties. The solution the Americans wanted to promote was some form of self-government for the island, without Britain losing its sovereign rights.

The U.S. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles on 16 November 1954 sent a letter to the Greek Prime Alexandros Papagos, which was quite revealing. In it he wrote:

*"The Cypriots and the British Authorities are the most direct parties and I impress persistently on the Greek Government to exercise its friendly influence on the non-communist Cypriot leaders, encouraging them to proceed to serious negotiations with the British Authorities. We shall exercise our influence in the same way, to encourage the British Government to actively seek this kind of negotiation."*²⁷

Cannon, the U.S. Ambassador to Athens, on 11 December 1954 visited Stephanos Stefanopoulos, Vice President and Foreign Minister of the Greek Government, telling him that his Government opposed the plan Greece had put to the United Nations for a solution of the Cyprus problem and that his country's delegation would vote against it.

On 12 December 1954, Alexandros Papagos received a personal message from Dulles which included the following:

*"The best way out for the unity of the West and for maintaining Greek prestige would be to support a decision by this Assembly not to discuss the Cyprus problem."*²⁸

27. Nikos Kranidiotis. "Difficult years...", p. 90.

28. Spyros Papageorgiou, "Cyprus Tempest 1955-1959," Kostas Epiphaniou Editions, Nicosia 1977, p. 69.

CHAPTER 2

THE PREPARATION OF THE ARMED STRUGGLE

The negative and obstinate stand of the British Government against offering a solution to the Cyprus problem led the Cypriot people to an armed struggle in order to claim its inalienable right to freedom. This was the only way the Cyprus question, closed as far as the British were concerned, could be opened. The idea for an armed struggle originated roughly during the same period from the Ethnarch Makarios, the Greek army retired Cypriot colonel George Grivas and some other prominent personalities in Cyprus and Greece. Subsequently, a twelve-member Committee was formed in Athens in 1953, to promote the union of Cyprus with Greece through the use of force. The first weapons arrived in Cyprus in March 1954. General Grivas (codenamed Dighenis) disembarked clandestinely on the island on 10 November 1954 as military leader of the Struggle. He immediately set to work for its success. At the head of the National Organisation of Cypriot Fighters (E.O.K.A.) he declared on 1st April 1955 the commencement of a revolutionary movement for the liberation of Cyprus and its union with Greece.

1. THE PREPARATORY EVENTS OF THE STRUGGLE UNTIL THE ARRIVAL OF GEORGE GRIVAS IN CYPRUS ON 10 NOVEMBER 1954

The establishment of a twelve-member Committee in Athens for union of Cyprus with Greece - Its members take the oath on 7 March 1953

After the groundwork had been laid on the initiative by certain people for the conduct of an armed liberation campaign in Cyprus, a twelve-member Committee was formed in Athens under the chairmanship of Archbishop Makarios, who was also the political leader

of the Struggle. The twelve members sealed their final decision with the following oath they took on the New Testament on 7 March 1953 at the house of one of them, Gerasimos Konidaris, a Theology professor of Athens University, at No 36B, Asclepiou Street (3rd floor).

*"I swear by the Holy and Consubstantial and Indivisible Trinity to keep secret, sacrificing even my life and enduring the most cruel of tortures, anything that I know and may come to hear about the Enosis cause of Cyprus. And I shall obey the orders that might be given me at any time."*²⁹

There followed the signatures of the twelve Committee members:

Makarios of Cyprus, Nicolaos Papadopoulos, Georgios Stratos, Gerasimos Konidaris, Antonios Avgikos. Savvas Loizides, Socrates Loizides, Georgios Grivas, Elias Tsatsomiros, D. Stavropoulos, Demetrios Vezanis, Elias Alexopoulos.

Gerasimos Konidaris has written about the above oath:

*"I placed the New Testament on the table and then we rose to take the oath, which had been modelled on that of the Greek War of Independence, that is in a way which was not absolutely clear. Archbishop Makarios placed his hand on his chest, while we placed ours on the Holy Gospel. His Holiness the Archbishop read out the oath and we repeated it, phrase by phrase, with deep emotion."*³⁰

The text of the oath with the signatures and the New Testament used are today to be found in the National History Museum of Greece. The table on which the New Testament was placed has been donated to the Struggle Museum of Cyprus.

The Athens Committee met several times at the domiciles of its members, Professor Gerasimos Konidaris' (Asclepiou 36B), Professor Demetrios Vezanis' (Skoufa 34), lawyer Savvas Loizides' (Mavromichali 59), as well as at the law office of Antonios Avgikos' (Chateaubriand 10). The change of venue for the Committee meetings was a way of maintaining secrecy in its activity.

29. George Grivas-Dighenis, "Chronicle ...," p. 1.

30. George Grivas-Dighenis, "Chronicle ...," p. 1.

The Committee contributed significantly to the preparation of the liberation struggle by its decisions and actions. Archbishop Makarios presided over its meetings and Georgios Stratos, former Minister of Military Affairs, replaced him in his absence. The dispatch of weapons to Cyprus, the definition of the form the struggle was going to take, propaganda and the involvement in it of the Pan-Hellenic Committee for the Self-determination of Cyprus were some of the issues dealt with by the Committee.

The Committee appointed George Grivas as the Head of the armed struggle, on account of his military experience and knowledge. He had fought in the Asia Minor campaign of 1922 as sub-lieutenant. In the epic war of Pindos in 1940-41 he served as a member of the Operations Office of the General Chief of Staff. During the period of German occupation (1941-1944) he was the leader of the national resistance organization "X". Apart from his studies at the Athens Military Academy, he also attended the Military School of Versailles. He had been an instructor in war tactics at the Military Academy.

As leaders of the EOKA campaign, Archbishop Makarios and George Grivas worked closely and harmoniously together and played the most important part in its success. The Archbishop financed the campaign, both during its preparation and conduct.

Yiannis Spanos wrote about the role of the two leaders in the Struggle:

*"The Archbishop inflamed the souls with his fiery preaching on the union of Cyprus with Greece and the EOKA leader led the fighters to battle in order to give substance to the age-long yearning. The Archbishop and Dighenis elevated a people inexperienced in war, through sacrifices and gallantry, to triumph and insuperable glory, causing worldwide amazement. The joint oath for a common cause united the two leaders in a solid victorious front during the great years of the EOKA struggle, which was to become the unprecedented four-year epic in the History of Cyprus."*³¹

31. Yiannis Chr. Spanos, "EOKA - This is how Greeks fight," Vol.1, Andreas I. Spanos Publications 1996, p. 16.

Colonel George Grivas visits Cyprus in 1951 and 1952

George Grivas had given a lot of thought to the possibility of starting a successful revolutionary movement in Cyprus, especially after the plebiscite of 1950. He visited Cyprus in July 1951 in order to form a personal opinion on the issue. There appeared to be great difficulties, the most important of which were the following:

1. He had to acquire weapons and other military material, as there were not any of these in Cyprus. They could be obtained from Greece, but their transport to Cyprus posed serious problems.

2. He had to recruit young people and train them in the use of arms and in guerrilla warfare. The Cypriots, however, had no war experience and were not prepared for the use of force in a liberation struggle. This involved many personal risks and raised doubts about the success of the Struggle.

3. Cyprus was a small island and its territory offered limited possibilities for the conduct of a guerilla war.

For the above reasons, the British believed that it was impossible to carry out a guerilla war in Cyprus. But George Grivas was a man of very strong will, determined to overcome every difficulty. At his first visit in 1951 he reached the conclusion that there were possibilities of carrying out a guerilla war. He returned to Athens, studied the matter in more detail and prepared a general plan for the armed struggle, based on his personal experience.

He went for a second time to Cyprus in October 1952, staying almost five months (3 October 1952 - 25 February 1953). The purpose of his visit was to find out if he could implement his plan. On this occasion he saw to the formation of the first combat nuclei, capable of undertaking revolutionary action and the reception and concealment of military supplies.

The aim of the Struggle and the mode of action, as stipulated by George Grivas in the "Preliminary plan for revolutionary action in Cyprus," which he drafted in Greece.

"I. THE AIM

To draw the attention of international public opinion, particular-

ly of the allies, through acts of heroism and sacrifice, to the Cyprus question, which could in this way cause trouble for them, if it is not solved to our satisfaction.

To demonstrate our firm resolve and will, through constant and serious harassment of the English in Cyprus, that we shall not recoil from any sacrifice, but to the contrary, we shall keep on until we achieve our aim.

The fight shall continue until international diplomacy - UNO - and especially the English are forced to consider the Cyprus issue and IMMEDIATELY offer a solution in accordance with the aspirations of the Cypriot people and of the Greek Nation as a whole.

II. MODE OF ACTION

The action will aim at exposing Government forces in Cyprus, by wearing them out and throwing them into confusion in such a way as to show abroad that the English in Cyprus are not in complete control of the situation.

This objective shall be achieved:

A. By carrying out acts of sabotage against government installations and military garrisons.

B. By the surprise action of a small number of flexible combat groups against the English army.

C. By organizing the population into passive resistance.

Considering the difficulty of carrying out a systematic and large-scale irregular armed campaign, and also bearing in mind the fact that the terrain is not suitable for large guerrilla groups, the main activity has to be the first one, that is sabotage.

The armed activity by the combat units shall predominately aim at offering cover and support to the work of saboteurs, as well as creating confusion and diversion for the English administration in Cyprus.

A larger scale and more intensive armed activity cannot be ruled out if favourable circumstances are created and sufficient weapons are available.

In order for action in the above three ways to achieve its aim, it should not be confined to minor operations against insignificant tar-

gets at large intervals, but on the contrary, it should be *INTENSIVE, CONTINUOUS* and aiming at *SERIOUS RESULTS*.

It must not be thought that in this way we seek to impose a total *MATERIAL* defeat on the British forces in Cyprus, but a *MORAL* one, by wearing them out, harassing, confusing and irritating them, so that in the end the aim specified in paragraph 1 would be achieved.

D. In parallel to the above action care shall be taken:

a) To render ineffective any reactionary move on the part of anyone in Cyprus.

b) To counter and severely punish any Cypriot agents of the English, acting against our struggle.

E. The support of the entire nation to the struggle of the Cypriots is indispensable and can play a decisive role.

This will aim on the one hand to demonstrate the solidarity of the free Greeks to the struggle of their enslaved brothers, and on the other to provide moral reinforcement to it.

In Greece the support shall be expressed:

1. By staging rallies in all the towns of Greece:

On the day following the revolutionary events in Cyprus, in order to exalt the successes of those fighting.

In order to expose to the civilized world the brutalities or coercions by the English in Cyprus against the civilian population.

Finally, in order to demonstrate in the most solemn way on the part of the Greek people, that they are themselves determined to strengthen by any means the struggle of the Cypriots.

2. Through the use of propaganda – publications, the press etc – in order to enlighten world opinion.

The planning and implementation in due course of everything listed in paragraph E above, shall be the work of the struggle committee in Athens, which will prepare a programme to this end.³²

The secret revolutionary Organisation K.A.R.I.

At the same time as the secret Committee of Athens was prepar-

32. General George Grivas-Dighenis, "Memoirs ..." Appendix, p. 3.

ing the revolutionary movement in Cyprus, another secret Organisation under the name of K.A.R.I. (Cypriot Fighters, Daring Leaders) was formed in 1953, on the initiative of the Cypriot doctor Ioannis Ioannides, an exile of the 1931 events to Athens. Initiated in Greece and Cyprus, its members were preparing also for an armed struggle. However, following consultations between the Athens Committee and the K.A.R.I. leadership, the members of the latter organization offered their cooperation for the success of the movement already started by the former.

Doctor Ioannides had undertaken to form kernels of Cypriot students in Athens, who were being trained in the use of arms and in guerrilla tactics. Reserve army officer Georgios Kontopoulos, then a lecturer and later professor of Astronomy at Athens University, trained the first 15 students in Athens. The training involved basic drills in armed engagement and sabotage. It took place in a hall of the University of Athens at Solonos Street No 57, at a house in Skoufas Street in the Kolonaki area and at another in Cyprus Street in the suburb of Kifissia.

The Cypriot army captain Athos Myrianthopoulos trained the Cypriot students in the use of pistols and in various kinds of booby traps. Participating actively in the training of the students was also the Cypriot general Menelaos Pantelides.

Later, nine of the group of 15 students went to Crete and underwent training in guerrilla warfare by the brothers Manolis and Yianis Bandouvas. Manolis had been the leader of a guerrilla force against the Germans during the period of World War 2. The Bandouvas family extended a hearty hospitality to the students.

The fares for the transportation of the students to Crete were paid for by Archbishop Spyridon of Athens.

The first shipment of arms from Greece to Cyprus- A second attempt fails

The first consignment of weapons and other military supplies arrived in Cyprus from Greece in March 1954 aboard the sailing boat "Sirene". Evangelos Koutalianos was the skipper of the boat. Eight

sub-machine guns, 21 automatic rifles, 47 rifles, 7 revolvers, 290 hand-grenades, 20 kilos of explosives and several rounds of ammunition were picked up in utmost secrecy and kept in a safe place. It was with these military supplies that the EOKA Struggle began on 1st April 1955.³³

The "Sirene" was mobilized for a second daring enterprise of bringing weapons to Cyprus. It departed on 20 November 1954, but in approaching the coast of Paphos, flares shot up in the sky. The captain, assuming that the mission had been betrayed, jettisoned his cargo and headed towards Rhodes.

Colonel George Grivas arrives secretly in Cyprus as the military leader of E.O.K.A.

In the first two weeks of October 1954, Archbishop Makarios and colonel George Grivas met four times in Athens and exchanged views on matters relating to the preparation of the revolutionary movement in Cyprus.

There followed the departure of George Grivas for Cyprus, about which he wrote:

"On 26 October 1954 I bid my wife farewell and armed only with FAITH, I embarked on the greatest enterprise of my life, which, by God's help, was to reveal the admirable virtues of the Cypriot people."

And he added:

"In the meantime I had given orders to load the rest of the supplies and forward them to Cyprus. The only people who knew about my departure were Georgios Stratos, the admiral Sakellariou, Chr. Papadopoulos, colonel Alexopoulos, Georgios Gazouleas, who had undertaken the collection, storage and loading of all the supplies in Athens, as well as the brothers Michos and Costas Efstathopoulos, who helped me during the whole period of the preparation."

33. Great Cyprus Encyclopedia, Vol.4. Published by "Filokypros Ltd," Nicosia 1986, p.159.

*In this way I attempted the great leap, towards a foolish enterprise according to some, but as far as I was concerned, towards fulfilling an imperative duty, in the faith that I would succeed. I wrote the last entry to my diary: "God's speed ...I depart with faith and courage...I shall succeed."*³⁴

Escorting George Grivas on his journey to Cyprus were Socrates Loizides, a lawyer, and Notis Petropouleas, to assist him in his work. The three men boarded the sailing boat "Aigaion" on the Pireaus coast and disembarked at Rhodes the next day, where a storm detained them until midnight, 8 November. They then took the "Sirene" with Cyprus as its destination. The skipper of the boat was Theophilos Xanthopoulos. The ship ran a serious risk of sinking but it finally reached its destination at the Chloraka coast at 8 p.m. on 10 November 1954. George Grivas and his companions were offered hospitality in the house of Nicolaos Azinas.

From that time onwards until the end of the Struggle, George Grivas remained in hiding in Cyprus and carried out his revolutionary activity in utmost secrecy, taking every possible precaution. During all this time he managed to successfully overcome every difficulty and problem, working day and night under extremely adverse conditions for the success of the EOKA Struggle.

In the four-year duration of the liberation Struggle the Governor and thousands of security forces spread all over Cyprus, tried in every way to arrest or kill the leader of EOKA. Money was offered in abundance and the traitors did their shameful work of giving information to the English rulers. Members of the Intelligence Service exerted every possible effort to uncover Dighenis, but without result. With the experience and skill that distinguished him, Dighenis always managed to escape. And so he remained until the end of the Struggle an untouchable and glorious champion of Cypriot freedom.

34. General George Grivas-Dighenis, "Memoirs ...," pp.25-26.

2. THE PREPARATION OF THE STRUGGLE FROM 10 NOVEMBER 1954 TO 1st APRIL 1955

The first actions of Dighenis

On 12 November 1954, Dighenis wrote in his diary:

"First, training and forming of a group; during this period we should not show ourselves to anyone who is to know of our mission, until the arrival of the expected cargo from Greece.

Second, preparing for action; in the course of this we should get in touch with persons from the Ethnarchy and prepare the armed action.

Third, implementation."

On 13 November he noted in the same diary:

*"The training of 5 persons of the Chlorakas group began this evening in automatic weapons and sabotage. Duration 19-23 hours."*³⁵

From Chlorakas, Dighenis went on a reconnaissance tour of the English camps situated in the districts of Paphos, Limassol, Larnaca and Famagusta, accompanied by Lefkios Rodosthenous. The camps were to become targets for future sabotage by EOKA.

He then left Chlorakas. Lefkios Rodosthenous transported him to Dasoupolis, a Nicosia quarter, and he settled in the house of Andreas Azinas. The first EOKA combat groups were then formed, in cooperation with the leaders of the All Cypriot Farmers' Union (P.E.K.), namely Andreas Azinas and Andreas Yiangou, the spiritual instructor of the Nicosia branch of the Orthodox Christian Union of Boys and Girls (O.H.E.N.) Papastavros Papagathangelou and the General Secretary of the Pan-Cyprian National Youth Organisation (P.E.O.N.) Stavros Poskotis.

35. Panayiotis S. Machlouzarides, "Cyprus 1940-1960. A diary of events," Nicosia 1985, p. 5.

The preparations for the commencement of the Struggle - The difficulties in forming and training combat groups- The underground distribution of the newspaper "ENOSIS"

Apart from forming and training combat groups, Grivas busied himself with the dissemination of weapons, the setting up of political nuclei, the organizing of an information network and a system of communications, as well as finding buildings to rent for use by EOKA.

Coordination work in each district was assigned to a section commander. Later more sections were formed.

The difficulties in putting together the combat groups were huge. The young people of OHEN, PEON, PEK and SEK (Confederation of Cypriot Workers), who provided the first members of EOKA, had never before had any training in the use of weapons and in revolutionary action.

Dighenis wrote on this subject:

*"The Cypriots were totally inexperienced in war, of a quiet and docile character by nature, and strangers to the idea of using armed force for any purpose... The Cypriots never joined an army and never knew the use of weapons."*³⁶

The mental preparation of the people, however, was a very important factor in the success of the liberation movement.

Yiannis Spanos commented fittingly on the issue:

"Youth was ready for the liberation struggle, especially after 1950. Passionate priests, teachers and initiated leading members of the Christian Boys and Girls Organisations (OHEN) were active in the schools, sowing the seed of freedom and fanning the fire of emancipation in the souls of youth. The church pulpits were turned into rostrums of fiery fighting sermons. From their desks worthy teachers trumpeted the supreme duty of freeing the subjugated Country. Sunday schools became a place for preparing the souls of new he-

36. General George Grivas-Dighenis, "Memoirs...", pp. 12-13.

roes. Gymnasium schoolyards were a selection ground for the members of the Organisation.³⁷

The underground publication of the cyclostyle weekly newspaper "Enosis- Mouthpiece of the fighting Cypriots," contributed greatly to the spiritual preparation of EOKA members ever since its clandestine distribution on 6 August 1954. Papastavros Papagathangelou was put in charge of the newspaper by Archbishop Makarios. Indeed, the Archbishop dictated the paper's first editorial. An extract read as follows:

"In the night of exactly that same day when the foreign ruler announced his illiberal laws and gagged the Cypriot people and its press, a small number of young people, with pure enthusiasm and faith in the struggle, we met somewhere and there we took the decision: To set up an organization. To start an underground press as well. We laid the foundations of the organization. Within a week we found supporters in all the towns. Our branches are now spreading to the villages. We are of course proceeding with care, because the government organs are alert. We gave our organization the name of "Organisation for National Salvation." Today we appear with the first underground leaflet under the title of "ENOSIS." In our leaflets we shall be publishing what the rest of the Cypriot press cannot write about. The purpose of our organization is armed action against the foreign ruler and its subservient organs. Our members are determined to sacrifice everything to the struggle. Even their very lives, since it is a life for slaves. For 76 years now we are slaves to the English. For 76 years we have been begging them, pleading with them, we send them memoranda, delegations, in the hope that they will at long last understand our just cause and break our fetters. But to no avail. They hear us and remain unmoved and insensitive. Now they find it irritating even listening to us. Their policy has taught us that the English chains cannot be unfastened by the English, but can only be broken by the slaves. And break them we shall. This is our decision and our oath.

37. Yiannis Chr. Spanos, "EOKA - This is how Greeks fight," Vol. 1, pp. 81-82.

*Long live Greece. Long live Enosis. Our slogan is: EVERYTHING FOR GREECE."*³⁸

So, when the EOKA Struggle started, whatever was lacking in military training of the fighters and material means was counterbalanced by the determination of Dighenis and the moral fortitude of the EOKA members, who were willing to fight with all their strength and with sacrifice for the success of the Struggle. This is the reason why all those who had reservations and doubts about the success of the revolutionary movement of 1st April 1955 were proven blatantly wrong.

The response of the Cypriot people to the emerging revolutionary movement

The majority of the Cypriot people responded readily to the rallying call of their country to start a revolutionary movement on the island for the union of Cyprus with Greece. The willingness of ordinary people to participate in the secret Organisation preparing the movement, can clearly be seen from the notes of Nikolas Avraam, a fighter from the village of Ayios Mamas in Limassol district, who undertook the difficult task of recruiting members from the villages in the Pitsilia region. He worked in Amiandos and did not have his own car. He therefore had to find the means of moving around in somebody else's car or visit the villages on foot through mountains trails.

Three entries to his notebook are quoted below:

a) "9 November 1954 in Amiandos. At about 5 in the afternoon I was called to the union. I went and found Mr. Azinas. We introduced ourselves and he suggested if I could undertake to organize the villages of the area, that is to set up in all the Pitsilia villages clandestine groups, determined to carry out the struggle that was being planned. I promised him that I would gladly work with all my powers. On leaving he told me that no village must remain unorganized

38. Papastavros Papagathangelou, "My testimony...", pp. 214-215.

and that he would come back on Saturday to hear from me what I had done."

b) "On Sunday 21.11.54 Avraam Vassiliou from Kalon Chorion came and picked me up on his motorbike (I don't know how he came to be informed) and we went to Ayios Constantinos to look for recruits and hideouts. Unfortunately, the people N. Christophides had recommended to us had gone to the fair in Agros and we repaired to Ayios Pavlos. Here we saw father Papagrigoris, who promised to help us in everything we might need in providing for men and finding a hideout."

c) "On the next day 3.12.54 I went by myself to Apesia, I saw Costes Poullaos, I told him of my purpose and he immediately agreed to take charge in his village. In order to justify my presence in Apesia, I pretended that I had gone to buy some land from my fellow villager Evripides Eliades, who was posted as a teacher there. And because Evripides was initiated too, we made a phony contract and I even counted ten pounds for down payment to him. In the coffee shop there I pretended to be pro-government and nearly got a beating from Costes Koupepas, who restrained himself on account of our long-lasting friendship. He did not hit me, but seriously offended me."³⁹

The British Middle East Headquarters are transferred to Cyprus

A few days after the arrival of Dighenis to Cyprus, specifically on 24 November 1954, the British began to relocate their land and air forces under the Middle East Command, on account of popular reaction in Egypt and Jordan. The transfer was being carried out from the Suez Canal zone by sea and air.

39. "A Chronicle of the EOKA Struggle 1955-1959 in the City and District of Limassol by SAPEL," Nicosia 1999, Published by the Council for the Historical Memory of the EOKA Struggle 1955-1959, pp. 334, 340, 342.



Acting on information, the British Authorities captured the boat "Ayios Georgios" while carrying an arms cargo to Cyprus.

The arrest of the boat "Ayios Georgios"

On 25 January 1955, the boat "Ayios Georgios" arrived at the coast of Paphos with Evangelos Koutalianos at its helm, carrying an arms cargo. Acting on information, the British Authorities spotted the boat near Chloraka village and arrested it. They confiscated 27 boxes containing grenades, land mines, dynamite, pistols, rifles, automatic weapons and 20 gold English coins. On 13 April 1955, Royal Navy divers pulled out of the sea three boxes containing ammunition rounds of various types, which had been jettisoned a few minutes before the arrest of the boat. The ship's crew and its passengers, as well as seven Cypriots who were waiting on land to pick up the weapons, 13 persons in all, were led to jail. Charges were brought against them before the court, including the most serious one of attempting to overthrow the established order. The court referred the case to the criminal court, which on 6 May 1955 imposed jail sentences to eleven of them as follows:

1. Socrates Loizides, 12 years
2. Evangelos Koutalianos, 4 years
3. Anargyros I. Mezos, 5 years
4. Argyrios Karadimas, 6 years
5. Constantinos Leonidou, 4 years
6. Nicolaos Mavronikolas, 4 years
7. Christodoulos Pentaras, 4 years
8. Nicolas Pentaras, 3 years
9. Christakis Nicolaou, 3 years
10. Michael Christodoulakis, 1 year
11. Michael Alethrakis, 1 year.

Kyriakos G. Mavronikolas and Michael Papantoniou were acquitted. The 12-year sentence was imposed on Socrates Loizides, because a document of seditious content was found in his briefcase. He had gone to the Chloraka coast to board the boat "Ayios Georgios" for his return to Greece.

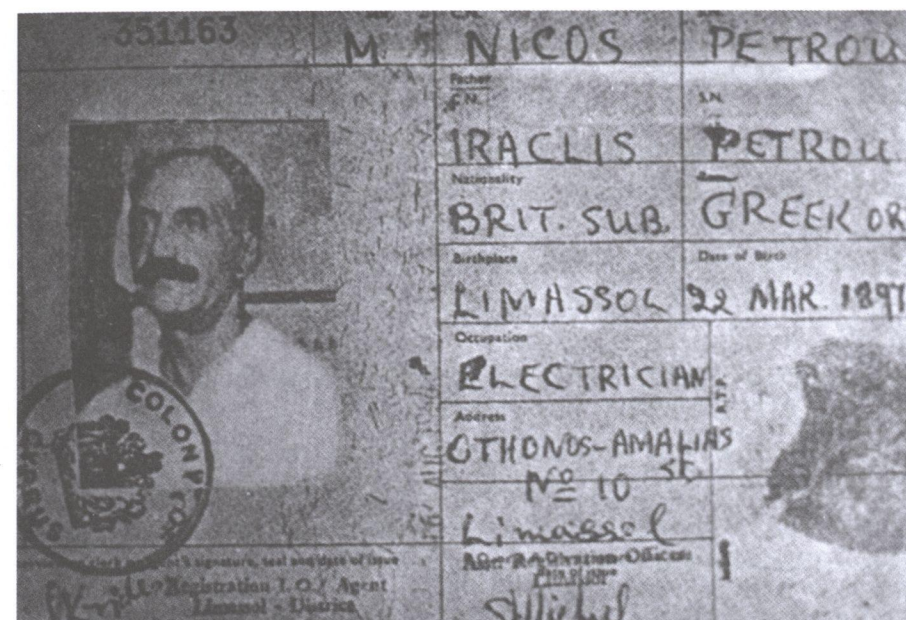
The official bulletin of 26 January 1955 referring to the above incident read:

*"Police agents recently received information suggesting that an attempt was being made at illegally importing explosives and guns to Cyprus. Further police investigations led to the conclusion that a group was being organized near Paphos to receive them. Following this information, the Governor of Cyprus took appropriate measures to frustrate such attempts. As a result of these operations a number of arrests have been made, while investigations are continuing. Further information will be published in due course."*⁴⁰

The confiscation of the weapons transported by "Ayios Georgios" was a severe blow to the revolutionary movement. But Dighenis did not give up. He was determined to start the Struggle under whatever circumstances. He was thinking of adjusting his plans to the given facts of that period. He wrote about this:

"An inner force, which I describe by the word FAITH, urged me on to these my thoughts and decisions, telling me to proceed with

40. Panayiotis Machlouzarides, op.cit., p.280



The forged identity card used by the Leader Dighenis during the EOKA struggle.

courage. This faith never abandoned me during the four-year period of the struggle. Devine providence guided my decisions, directed my actions and gave me moral and physical stamina. I never gave in, never felt tired, never bent, I never chickened out. This is why the whole enterprise was crowned with success. I ascribe this totally to the will of God."^{40a}

In a letter to Archbishop Makarios dated 29 January 1955 Dighenis wrote:

"The unfortunate incident of the sailing boat, far from dampening our moral strength, has to the contrary fortified even more our souls, so that with greater courage, sacrifice and persistence we shall carry on towards the deliverance of Cyprus and vengeance. I speak not only on behalf of myself, but also of those whom I have the honour to lead and in whose midst I now find myself. In those with

40a. General George Grivas-Dighenis, "Memoirs...", p. 32.

whom I managed to make contact I have found the firm resolve to go ahead."⁴¹

The organization of the rural population

The leader of EOKA on 8 February 1955 gave written instructions to the section commander in each district to organize the rural population, defining the aim as follows:

"Initiation of individuals in the inhabited areas, so that they will be able to offer assistance:

a) In massive manifestations in the countryside through rallies, demonstrations and so on.

b) In hiding those of our members under persecution by providing shelter.

c) By participating in violent operations, armed ones if necessary.

d) By providing information of every nature on the plans and movements of the army and the police.

e) In observing government agents.

*Any other aim, political or party political, is ruled out."*⁴²

The last preparations for the commencement of the Struggle

Dighenis worked intensively during the first three months of 1955 towards the commencement of the revolutionary movement. The secret organization under his leadership was named E.O.K.A. (National Organisation of Cypriot Fighters), following a suggestion put by himself to Archbishop Makarios on 13 January 1955 and approved by the latter.

On 7 March Archbishop Makarios and Dighenis met and discussed matters relating to EOKA and its operation.

On 21 March, Dighenis notified the Archbishop that his preparations had been completed. On that day he wrote in his diary:

41. Panayiotis Machlouzarides, op.cit. Appendix, Part II, p. 32.

42. Panayiotis Machlouzarides, op.cit. Appendix, Part II, p. 33.

*"I report to General (=Arch. Makarios) that I AM READY and wait for the order to begin. The prolongation of the situation is fraught with dangers."*⁴³

A new meeting between the Archbishop and Dighenis took place on 29 March at the outpost of Kykko Monastery which was situated in Nicosia. There the decision was taken to start the campaign during the night between 31st March and 1st April, when there was no moon, and the fighters could go into action under cover of darkness. Dighenis noted in his diary:

"29 March. I saw General at 20.00 hours. LET US BEGIN. He gave me his blessing. God be with us."

On 30 March, the Leader of EOKA assembled the section commanders of Nicosia, Famagusta, Larnaca and Limassol, announced to them that the Struggle would start during the night of 31st March to 1st April and stressed that the best results should be achieved at every cost, in order to surprise the enemy. He wrote in his diary:

*"30 March. In the evening, at 20.30h I summoned HERMIS, ZEDROS, ORESTIS, EVAGORAS at the house of Michalopoulos. I announced my decision that the operation should take place on the night of 31 March - 1st April at 0.30h. They agreed."*⁴⁴

43. Panayiotis S. Machlouzarides, op.cit. Appendix, Part I, p.16.

44. Panayiotis S. Machlouzarides, op.cit., Appendix, part I, p. 17. The real names of the persons referred to under an alias are in that order the following: Evangelos Evangelakis, Gregoris Afxentiou, Stavros Poskotis, Notis Petropouleas.

CHAPTER 3

THE EOKA STRUGGLE DURING THE GOVERNORSHIP OF ARMITAGE

(1 April - 3 October 1955)

The EOKA struggle began on 1st April 1955 with bomb explosions in the major towns of Cyprus and took by surprise not only the British Authorities but also the Cypriot people. The first leaflet by the leader of EOKA was distributed on the same day proclaiming the cause of the Struggle. The Turkish Cypriots and the leadership of the leftist Cypriot organizations condemned the Struggle, but the Greek Cypriot people supported it and offered every kind of help to the EOKA fighters. The young, school students and workers alike, played a very important part in the Struggle with their heroic exploits. Some Cypriot students at the University of Athens, who had been trained in the use of arms, interrupted their studies and came to Cyprus to join EOKA. Applying a law of 15 July 1955 for the detention of persons without trial, Governor Armitage sent many Cypriots to the detention camps. EOKA, being constantly reinforced by new members, successfully attacked the security forces. The Ethnarch Makarios fought on the political front for the freedom of Cyprus. The English convened the London Tripartite Conference in August 1955 with the participation of government members from Britain, Greece and Turkey and officially involved Turkey in the search for a solution to the Cyprus problem. In September 1955 the United Nations examined Greece's appeal for the application of the principle of self-determination in the case of the Cypriot people. The issue was not included on the agenda of the international organisation's General Assembly.

1. THE AIM OF THE EOKA STRUGGLE

The EOKA struggle did not have anti-British motives

The EOKA struggle aimed exclusively at the liberation of Cyprus and its union with Greece. There was no anti-British motive when EOKA turned its weapons against the British rulers. Dighenis' statement was very clear:

"I undertook the campaign against my old friends and allies in order to defend precisely the same ideals, for which we had fought together in the battlefields of the first and second world wars. There was no anti-British motive concealed in the Struggle. It was dictated by an imperative need and became necessary after the hopes and expectations of the Greek people, and particularly those of the Cypriots, had been frustrated."^{44a}

The oath of EOKA members

Before becoming members of EOKA the fighters had to take an oath, by which they committed themselves to fight with all their strength for the liberation of Cyprus. They swore as follows:

"I swear by the name of the Holy Trinity that:

1. I shall struggle with all my powers for the liberation of Cyprus from the English yoke, sacrificing even my life.

2. I shall not abandon the struggle under any pretext, save only when so ordered by the Leader of the Organisation and after the aim of the struggle has been accomplished.

3. I shall obey absolutely the orders of the Leader of the Organisation and only his.

4. If arrested, I shall maintain absolute silence both regarding the secrets of the Organisation and the names of my comrades-in-arms, even if I am tortured to confess.

5. I shall disclose to no one any order of the Organisation or secret which has come to my knowledge, except when so authorized by the Leader of the Organisation.

^{44a}. General Grivas-Digenis "Memoirs ...," p. 4.

6. My actions shall be guided only by the interest of the struggle and shall be free of any self-interest or party interest.

*7. If I forsake my oath I shall be DEPRIVED OF HONOUR and worthy of any punishment."*⁴⁵

Bound by the above oath, the fighters maintained a strong and stable morale throughout the Struggle. They did not yield to the threats of the oppressor, the heavy court sentences, or the inhuman torture. Not even their being sentenced to death by hanging proved able to break their morale, because they believed in God and Greece.

2. THE OUTBREAK OF THE STRUGGLE ON 1ST APRIL 1955

Deafening explosions - Modestos Panteli the first EOKA dead - Gregoris Afxentiou the first proscribed member - Arrests of fighters

The armed struggle of the Cypriot people against the English started 30 minutes after midnight between 31st March and 1st April 1955, in accordance with Dighenis' instructions. Deafening explosions shook Nicosia, Larnaca and Limassol, as well as the military garrisons.

In Nicosia the explosions occurred at: a) The government radio station, which was the mouthpiece of British propaganda. The damage caused amounted to around 20 thousand pounds. b) The Secretariat, where damages were considerable. c) The Education Office, where a fire broke out and documents were burnt. d) The installations behind Wolseley barracks.

In Larnaca there were explosions at: a) The central police station, b) The district administration, c) The Court building, d) The house of police superintendent Milling, e) The house of Commissioner Muftizade. In all the cases damages were caused. The most serious were at the Court building.

⁴⁵. George Grivas-Dighenis "Chronicle...", p. 3.

In Limassol the attacks were carried out against the central police station and the police station of Ayios Ioannis quarter. Damage was serious in both cases.

The Episkopi garrison in Limassol district also sustained heavy damage by the explosions.

In Famagusta district the depot of the army camp situated near the Famagusta – Larnaca road, was attacked. Another group in the same district tried to set fire to the fuel tank of the Dhekelia garrison power station.

The Cypriot newspapers managed to publish the first breathtaking news of the beginning of the EOKA Struggle in their April 1st issue.

The newspaper "Ethnos" wrote about the explosions in Nicosia:

*"At about 12.40 after midnight continuous and strong explosions shook Nicosia, causing the scared inhabitants to rise from their beds and get out in the streets, trying to learn about the cause of the explosions. Two police fire brigades left the Paphos Gate Police Headquarters at once, one heading to the west and the other to the east, outside the city walls. At the same time, repetitive police whistling could be heard."*⁴⁶

Panayiotis Papanastasiou, a member of Markos Drakos' group which carried out the attack against the government radio station in Nicosia, recounted the following:

"On the night of 31st March to 1st April 1955 I was one of four men under the leadership of Markos Drakos that assembled in a Nicosia house. At midnight it was announced to us that we should attack the government radio station at 00.30h. We moved out at once to the radio station, which was being guarded by a Greek and a Turk, while the whole area was cut off with barbed wire. We approached the barbed wire and Drakos cut a hole in it with clippers, whereupon we all stormed the building. The guards were neutralized and the telephone lines cut. We placed dynamite in various parts of the station,

46. "The EOKA struggle through the Cyprus Press." Published by the Press and Information Office, 1997, p. 50.

*poured petrol over the equipment and then set fire. The damage caused was considerable."*⁴⁷

Dighenis noted on the EOKA action of April 1st:

"Our action took everybody by surprise: the Cyprus authorities, the Cypriots and those in Greece. It did not, however, pass without reaction. The first impression among the Greek population of the island was excellent. The people now saw its national struggle take on an active manifestation, instead of the war- of- words tactics that had been followed until then."^{47a}

The British Central Intelligence Service, which was active in Cyprus, wrote in a confidential report:

*"The outbreak of terrorism in such a big scale has been of the greatest surprise to us."*⁴⁸

The Foreign Secretary of Britain Harold Macmillan wrote in his Memoirs about the shock EOKA had caused to the British Government:

*"The Colonial Office appeared somewhat surprised and upset over this development. But it was obvious that the information and security system in the island was flawed."*⁴⁹

After the events of April 1st Archbishop Makarios wrote to Dighenis:

*"I send you my warmest wishes and sincere congratulations. Well done a thousand times! The occupiers now realize that we have entered a serious stage in our struggle."*⁵⁰

During the heroic action of 1st April, EOKA lost its first combatant, Modestos Panteli from Liopetri. He died from an electric shock in his attempt to cut electrified cables and cause a blackout, in order to enable the EOKA groups to operate more effectively in Famagusta.

47. George Grivas-Dighenis "Chronicle ...," p.178.

47a. George Grivas -Dighenis "Chronicle...," p. 35.

48. Spyros Papageorgiou "Cyprus Tempest 1955-1959," p. 118.

49. Spyros Papageorgiou "Cyprus Tempest 1955-1959," p. 118.

50. Spyros Papageorgiou "Cyprus Tempest 1955-1959," p. 123.

On the same day the Police put out a "wanted" notice for Gregoris Afxentiou, head of the group that had attacked the Dhekelia garrison. A reward of CP250 was placed on his head, to be paid to anyone that gave information leading to his arrest. Later the bounty was increased to CP5,000, whilst in the case of Dighenis the money offered was CP10,000. All wanted men thereafter carried a price of CP5,000 on their head.

The Police in Larnaca arrested five members of EOKA who took part in the 1st April operation. Those arrested were section commander Stavros Poskotis, two group leaders and two of their members.

Christofis Panteli, brother to Modestos Panteli, was the only one of the EOKA members in Famagusta district to be arrested, while returning from the operation against the Dhekelia garrison.

All those arrested were later sentenced to long prison terms. Their arraignment in court and their conviction did not break their morale or shook their faith in the liberation of Cyprus. Christofis Panteli notably stated in court before hearing his seven-year jail sentence:

*"I simply did my duty as a Greek patriot for the freedom for which the English and the Cypriots had fought together."*⁵¹

The first EOKA leaflet

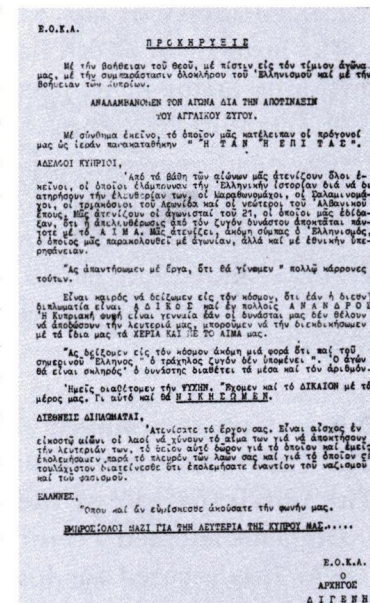
On 1st April 1955 EOKA distributed its first leaflet, written by the Leader Dighenis. It was a proclamation by which he informed the Cypriot people about the aim of the struggle, at the same time calling on them to participate in the liberation of Cyprus. The leaflet read as follows:

"With God's help, with faith in our honest struggle, with the support of the entire Greek world and with the help of all the Cypriots, we embark on the fight for the overthrow of the English yoke, under the motto left for us in sacred trust by our ancestors: 'E tan e epi

51. General George Grivas-Dighenis "Memoirs...", p.49.

tas' (trans. note 1) Cypriot brothers, looking at us from the depth of the centuries are all those who made Greek History shine, in order to preserve their freedom: the Marathon fighters, the Salamis fighters, Leonidas' Three Hundred and the more recent ones of the Albanian epic. The fighters of 1821 are looking at us, who have taught us that freedom from the oppressor's subjugation can only be obtained by shedding blood. The Greeks all over the world have their eyes fixed on us, watching us with anguish but also with national pride. Let us answer them by deeds, that we shall become "much better than they" (trans. note 2). It is time to show to the world that, when international diplomacy is unjust and often cowardly, the Cypriot soul is brave. If our oppressors do not want to give us our freedom, we shall fight for it with our own hands and with our blood. Let us show to the world once more that the Greek of today, like his ancestors, cannot tolerate the foreign yoke. The fight is going to be tough. The oppressor has the means and numerical advantage. We have the soul for it, we have the right on our side.

International diplomats, behold your work. It is a shame in mid-twentieth century to force people to shed their blood in order to obtain their freedom, this god-sent gift for which we have fought alongside your peoples and for which you at least claim that you have fought



Dighenis' proclamation, with which he communicated the decision to undertake the struggle for the overthrow of the English yoke.

Trans. note 1: "Bring your shield back or be brought back on it": Spartan women seeing their men off to war.

Trans. note 2: Plutarch's "Lycurgus," 21.

against Nazism and Fascism. Greeks, whenever you are, hearken our voice: Forward, all together for the freedom of our Cyprus,

E.O.K.A. The Leader Dighenis."⁵²

3. THE STRUCTURE AND OPERATION OF EOKA

The peculiarity of the Struggle

The Struggle of EOKA has been unique and unprecedented. A determining factor in its peculiarity was the war experience, organizational ability, acuteness and flexibility of the Leader of EOKA. In a lecture in Germany, Dighenis particularly noted:

*"I directed the campaign alone without a general staff. I was the invisible leader everybody obeyed with confidence, but everybody also felt my shadow. It is perhaps the only example in history of a leader prevailing over a people and of a people's discipline to an invisible leader."*⁵³

The section commands -The contacts - P.E.K.A.

-The information network-The guerrilla groups.

-The participation of the population.

Dighenis adopted a centralized system in organizing and running EOKA. This secured for him the control of all its sections and the discipline of the members.

Cyprus was divided into section commands. A section commander was placed at the head of each section and was responsible for coordinating the activities and operations of the members in his section. The section commander received orders from the EOKA leader.

In the beginning of the Struggle the section commands were few, but more were added later in response to the needs. The main ones were those of Nicosia, Morphou, Orinis (mountainous Nicosia district), Famagusta, Varosha, Karpass, Larnaca, Limassol, Kakopetria -

52. General George Grivas-Dighenis "Memoirs...", p. 34.

53. Spyros Papageorgiou "Cyprus Tempest 1955-1959," p. 112.

Galata area, Paphos, Kyrenia, Kythrea. The Karpass and Kythrea sections were added later.

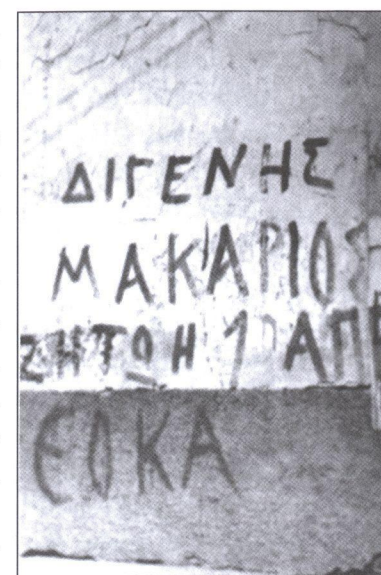
Within each section there were people in charge of youth whose responsibility was to guide young members and organize them into groups. Youth, whether attending school or not, distinguished themselves in daring and effective action. Following an order by Dighenis, primary school pupils participated in the Struggle as from February 1956, taking part in student demonstrations.

By the middle of 1957 youth became better organized under the name of A.N.E. (Daring EOKA Youth). In October 1957 it was placed under a central Command (DANE), which took its orders from the EOKA leader. Militant urban youth groups formed a separate section, undertaking special missions (sabotage etc).

In August 1956, the Political Committee for the Cypriot Struggle (P.E.K.A.) was formed, enhancing the work of EOKA in various ways.

The Contacts - members charged with the responsibility of receiving and delivering correspondence - played an important part in the functioning of EOKA. One particular member was especially responsible for assembling the correspondence of the Leader and the section commanders.

A very important contribution was that by members which gathered information about the occupation forces and the decisions and operations of the security forces. The organized information network, to which members of the Police also belonged, contributed substantially to the success of EOKA.



Slogans such as the above in favour of Dighenis and Makarios covered the walls, despite measures taken by the English occupiers.

A top-secret document written by the Director of Operations brigadier D. Ross on 8 March 1956, is quite revealing:

*"EOKA knows a lot about our plans and methods. They are particularly informed in time about impending arrests or large-scale operations... Reckless conversations must cease, because by the time action is taken, EOKA will know of our intentions, as it has proved in the past. Besides our intentions, our methods of operation are also leaked, particularly following successful operations."*⁵⁴

In the framework of the section commands, 20 guerrilla groups operated in mountainous areas, relying on the valuable services of suppliers and doctors, the latter providing medical care, medicine and first aid.

Apart from the guerrilla groups, special Commando Rifle Teams (O.K.T) were active in some areas.

Quite a few lawyers were also EOKA members, offering noteworthy services in defending indicted fighters before the courts.

Finally, it must be mentioned that wanted fighters found warm hospitality in towns and villages, in most of which hideouts had been constructed.

The good structure and operation of EOKA played a decisive part in the success of the Struggle. This was mainly due to Dighenis who was highly qualified as a leader. He particularly stood out for the flexibility and adaptability of his plans and methods according to the prevailing circumstances.

The arsenal of EOKA

The arsenal of EOKA at the beginning of the struggle was very limited. The weapons then used were the ones that had been brought from Greece in March 1954. Later more consignments of arms arrived in various ways. Friends and associates of Dighenis in Athens were in charge of the transport of weapons to Cyprus from Greece. The contribution of Andreas Azinas, a Cypriot, was very significant. The difficulties were many.

⁵⁴. Spyros Papageorgiou, "Cyprus Tempest 1955-1959," p. 469.

Some of the weapons arrived by a boat that sailed regularly from Piraeus to Limassol. On board every time there was an EOKA member who took care of the suitcases containing the guns for the Organisation. Clerks and porters initiated to a special plan at the respective customs, undertook to load the suitcases at Piraeus and have them picked up at Limassol. Weapons also arrived at Paphos by post. Later, guns arrived hidden inside gas cylinders and in other ways.

On 22 January 1956, EOKA reinforced its arsenal with about 800 shotguns that its members took away from their owners in an island-wide campaign.

Local manufacture was another way for EOKA to keep up its supply of arms and other war material. Special workshops operated for this purpose in Nicosia, Limassol, Paphos, Famagusta and in small towns and villages. Three workshops in Strovolos turned out bombs, mines and hand grenades. The industrial workshop in Nicosia manufactured detonators and various kinds of bombs such as electric ones, incendiary and suffocating bombs made of bromine, pressure and electric mines, fulminate mercury and various explosive mixtures. Some of the fighters managed to manufacture guns out of materials available in Cyprus. The chemist Nicos Servos (codenamed Faust) and the pharmacist Costas Economides (codenamed Gedeon) offered valuable services in charge of workshops. The resourcefulness and dedication of the EOKA members to the cause of the Struggle made up for the existing shortcomings. Finally, it must be mentioned that EOKA also replenished its arsenal with gun-snatching raids of police stations and military warehouses.

The financial means of EOKA

For the financial assets used by EOKA in its campaign, we draw the following information from the Leader Dighenis:

a) *"EOKA drew its financial assets from the following sources:*

1. *From the Archbishopric of Cyprus.*

2. *On 12.7.1956 I received a letter from the Greek Consul in Nicosia, in which a relevant paragraph read as follows: The "Benefactor" sends you a message of honour and admiration. He sends you*

a sum of money which is at your disposal." (Hiding behind the codename "Benefactor" was the then Foreign Minister of Greece Evangelos Averoff).

b) "The Organisation did not receive money from any other person and the section commanders and other members of the Organisation were forbidden by strict orders to carry out money collections or to accept money from any one. Also, by leaflets which I distributed many times, I informed the public that the Organisation did not conduct money collections, nor did it accept money offers by individuals."

c) "Personally I never handled any amount of money, however small and even the money meant for my personal maintenance was received and managed by other fighters who lived with me."

d) "I estimate that the Organisation, from the beginning of the Struggle to the end, has used for its needs in Cyprus, that is for the maintenance of combat groups, purchase of weapons, maintenance of needy families of wanted members, the amount of roughly 140,000 pounds sterling."⁵⁵

The Kykko Monastery also contributed to the financial support of the Struggle.

The spiritual supply of EOKA members

Dighenis believed that in a liberation movement, incalculable factors could counterbalance the numerical and material superiority of the enemy, the spirit of the fighters being the most important. For this reason he paid particular attention to instilling courage to the members of EOKA, so as to help them maintain a high morale. He was so convinced about this that when Archimandrite Constantinos Lefkosiatis (alias "Gounaris"), a high-ranking EOKA member, suggested in a letter dated 6 April 1956 the creation of a Spiritual Supply Service within the Organisation, Dighenis gave a quick affirmative reply.

55. George Grivas-Dighenis, "Chronicle...", p. 624.

In an ordinance on 14 April Dighenis told EOKA members the following: "I wish to stress that the spiritual supply of our members should seriously be taken into consideration, in order to create a disciplined and integrated army, on which we can rely not only to keep our campaign going strong until the victorious end, but also to provide the pure and regenerative force that will take up the struggle later on with the same enthusiasm for the purification and regeneration of our sinful society."⁵⁶

The Spiritual Supply Service then sent copies of the New Testament and other books of religious content to all of the guerrilla groups. Thereafter, the EOKA guerrillas received religious pamphlets from time to time for their spiritual reinforcement.

How important the spiritual supply was for the EOKA members is clearly shown in a letter dated 22 April 1956 by Markos Drakos (codenamed Lykourgios) to "Gounaris", in charge of the Spiritual Supply Service. The letter began as follows:

"As soon as we had received the relevant order dated 14.4.56, in which it was mentioned that a Spiritual Supply Service has been established, we were all overjoyed, because the creation of such a service fills a vacuum that existed since the formation of the guerrilla groups."⁵⁷

Contributing to the spiritual supply of the EOKA members in several ways were priests, theologians and many conscious members of the Church. With church services, confessions, sermons and Bible studies that they performed in towns and villages, in prisons and in the detention camps where they themselves ended, the priests enriched the spiritual world of the fighters and strengthened their will to strive with all their powers for the liberation of Cyprus. The laymen organized Bible study groups.

Joint Bible studies took place also within some guerrilla groups, whereby those in charge analysed short texts to gatherings of their

56. Nicolaos P. Vassiliades, "The martyrs of the Cypriot Epic 1955-1959." A publication by the Brotherhood of Theologians "The Saviour," Athens 1977, p.19.

57. Nicolaos P. Vassiliades, op. cit. p.84.

members. Gregoris Afxentiou, Markos Drakos and Stylianos Lenas were among those who undertook such work, cultivating in the souls of the guerillas the fear of God and love for the motherland. Particularly in the case of Markos Drakos it must be mentioned that permanently inscribed in the group's hideout was an extract taken from the 22nd Psalm: *"Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil: for thou art with me;"* (Trans. note 3)

The following excerpt from the notes of the fighter Antonis Papadopoulos, a physical training teacher held in section 1, is indicative of the spiritual work being done in the Central Prison of Nicosia. He passed the notes to Archimandrite Lefkosiatis, also held in the same prison.

*"By the weak light of a small electric bulb we read religious books or whatever else one may consider appropriate in their circumstance and life. Our thought travels to the past, recounts our whole life and sees how benevolent God is to have devised things in such a way as to bring about our rebirth inside the prison. This fills us with joy and feelings of gratitude towards God and helps us to forget the evil of the world. From 8-9 p.m. we study and steep into the Bible and when the lights go out for us to sleep, the hymn of the political convicts rises up from all of us to our mighty Creator, who guards us and watches over us wherever we may be."*⁵⁸

The theology teacher Michael E. Michaelides, political detainee No 849, wrote in his book "Sunrise at the Camp" about the psychological benefit the prisoners derived from the activities of the spiritual people of Cyprus in the detention camps:

"The written word of God offered us innumerable mottos to use in our lives. The Eternal Book became "a lamp for going on foot and a light for walking through our path of life," (Psalms 18,105) as the psalmist says. It fed our souls and bolstered our faith. It helped us to face our hard ordeal."

Trans. note 3. Psalm 23 in King James' Bible.

58. Constantinos S. Lefkosiatis, "The Cyprus Bastille," Athens 1961, p. 21.

A hand-written diary under the title "Light" was distributed among the Bible study groups in the detention camps. Michael E. Michaelides coordinated the whole work. Fleeting through the diary, I stop at the page with the slogan "MIGHTY." I reproduce the topic:

*"Today's motto had a special impact on our hearts: "I can do all things through Christ which strengthened me"(Philipp.D 13). Although imprisoned, St. Paul was always strong, as he himself wrote. Indeed, it is only when man is close to Christ that he becomes strong, powerful. Even the greatest sufferings are bearable with His help. With the Almighty, we also become almighty."*⁵⁹

EOKA puts clandestinely into circulation two periodicals to strengthen the morale and national spirit of youth

EOKA always paid attention not only to the fighting mission of its members and of the people at large, but also to the strengthening of morale and the national spirit. Special care was taken for the young and two underground periodicals had been put into circulation for them, the "Upbringing of Youth" (Agoge ton Neon) for elementary school pupils, and "Reveille" (Egertirion Salpisma), for secondary school students. The first one, "Upbringing of Youth", was distributed from 16 September 1958 until 2 March 1959 (15 issues) and the second, "Reveille", from 10 October 1957 until 15 February 1959 (32 issues). With their articles, poems and songs, history notes and commentaries these two periodicals fortified the will of children and teenagers to keep up the struggle. PEKA was assigned the responsibility for their publication.

Eve Poullidou-Nissiotou, editor of "Upbringing of Youth" and author of many of its articles, wrote about the topics appearing in the periodical:

"The material for the texts, selected as it was with deep awareness of the History of Greece and of the History of the Struggle, was based on the age-long values of our People, as active values, and on

59. Michael E. Michaelides, theologian-teacher "Sunrise at the Camp," Athens 1962. Published by "Semantro", pp. 121, 124.

the sanguine soul of the historic past and of the combative present. By revealing the image of the Nation that fights on Cyprus' sacred soil, it sketched a national future tied to the events, optimistic and hopeful."⁶⁰

By way of an example, we quote from the article of issue No 8 (24 November 1958), under the title "Why we took up arms":

*"One must be a soldier of peace as long as Freedom and Justice are not abused. But when these two goods are at risk, then maintaining peace amounts to cowardice, indignity and dishonesty. And the Cyprus people has seen these two goods being viciously trampled upon by its oppressors."*⁶¹

In "Reveille" we quote an excerpt from the main article of issue No 18 (15 July 1958) under the title "The Criminal Conspiracy," referring to the British plan, which was to be imposed on the Cypriot people as from 1st October:

*"Two days even before the British plan was announced in the House of Commons, the notorious Zorlu was stating categorically in a style worthy of five Napoleons, that the Government (of Turkey) rejected the British plan, because it did not provide for dismemberment, which is the sole demand of the Turks. Three days later, this same Zorlu stated again that the Turkish Government accepts the plan, because it leads towards dismemberment. This fact alone is enough to tell us about the terrible intrigue that has been hatched against the Greek people. Zorlu had hastened to reject the plan, in order to encourage the Greeks to accept it."*⁶²

60. "Youth in the Liberation Struggle of EOKA 1955-1959. (Studies-General Highlights-Personal Testimonies)". Published by The Council for the Historical Memory of the EOKA Struggle 1955-1959, Nicosia 2000, p.81.

61. Frixos Demetriades, "Upbringing of Youth -The underground periodical of EOKA for the pupils of the elementary schools," Limassol 1994, p.162.

62. "Reveille", opt. cit., p. 182.

4. HOW THE EOKA STRUGGLE WAS VIEWED

The stance of Governor Armitage after the explosions of 1st April

The Governor of Cyprus, Sir Robert Armitage, appeared to be seriously worried about the outbreak of the EOKA armed struggle for the liberation of Cyprus.

An official release by the Public Information Office said:

"In a statement made in Nicosia today, the Governor of Cyprus said that the violent acts perpetrated by dynamiters in the early hours of 1st April, must be examined with the greatest concern by those who are responsible, not only for maintaining law and order, but also for the safeguarding of vital military installations on the island.

*H.E. the Governor also said that all necessary measures will be taken to track down and arrest the criminals and that he is certain that the Cypriot people, which is composed of responsible and law abiding citizens, shares the disgust and regret of the authorities for such terrorist attacks and that it will neither encourage nor forgive similar ones. H. E. appeals in particular to the local Press, which has shown moderation and reason in the past, to condemn these unbridled acts."*⁶³

How the Turkish Cypriots saw the Struggle

The outbreak and conduct of the EOKA liberation struggle did not meet with the approval of the Turkish Cypriots. After the events of 1st April 1955, the Secretary of the Turkish Cypriot National Party, Fazil Kucuck, condemned the activity of EOKA. He sent telegrams to the British Colonial Secretary, Lennox-Boyd, and to Governor Armitage, expressing his concern about the bomb attacks. From then onwards the Turkish Cypriots kept declaring their oppo-

63. P. Papademetris - P. Petrides, "Historic Encyclopaedia of Cyprus (1878-1978)", vol 11, Nicosia, 1979-1980, pp. 10-11.

sition to the EOKA movement and they cooperated with the occupation forces to suppress it.

On 30 June 1955, pamphlets in the Turkish language appeared in various parts of Limassol, calling on the Turkish Cypriot youth to support the Turkish Organisation KITEB fight EOKA and union of Cyprus with Greece.

With a leaflet in the Turkish language distributed in the Turkish quarter of Nicosia in July 1955, EOKA gave assurances that the Struggle it was waging did not aim against the Turkish Cypriots, but against the English rulers. The leaflet clearly stated:

*"Our intentions towards the Turkish inhabitants of the island are honest and friendly. We regard them as genuine friends and allies, and as far as we can help it, we shall not allow their dignity, life, honour and property to be the least affected."*⁶⁴

How the leadership of AKEL saw the Struggle

The leadership of AKEL, the Communist Party of Cyprus, used heavy language against the Leader of EOKA and its heroic fighters and consciously opposed the liberation Struggle of 1955- 1959.

Two excerpts from an announcement by the Political Bureau of AKEL are clearly indicative. The announcement was made on 2 April 1955.

a) *"But how must the Cypriot people view these events? Are they perhaps such events as to even imagine they can advance its cause? Is what the inspirers of this action are doing a "patriotic" work, as a suspicious leaflet that has been distributed simultaneously with the dynamite explosions at dawn claims? Can the inspirers of this action be 'chosen' heroes, whom the people must honour?"*

It is possible that some people of good faith, influenced by demagogical words, believe that these tactics serve the national cause. Unreservedly, however, AKEL says: This kind of activity can only damage the Cyprus cause. We believe also that the Cypriot people,

64. General Grivas-Dighenis, "Memoirs...", p. 52.

relying on its experience, absolutely agrees with this position."

b) *"The patriotic Cypriot people have nothing to do with these terrorist acts. The unmistakable conclusion that every Cypriot patriot must draw is that such methods can never advance the cause for national liberation. These methods cause the struggle to degenerate and expose it to the slander and the blows of its enemies."*

PEO, the left-wing Pan-Cyprian Labour Federation, maintained a similar attitude, stating in one of its resolutions: *"The extraordinary conference of PEO, which was convened on 2 and 3 April 1955 at 'Alambra' calls on the working class of Cyprus to stay away from the provocative actions that are lately taking place."*

AKEL's mouthpiece "New Democrat" in its issue of 22 April 1955 described the EOKA Struggle as "suspicious," its Leader as a "Pseudo-Dighenis," and the fighters as "bravos" and "masqueraded liberators."

On 1st May the same newspaper wrote:

*"AKEL is the party that has unmasked the pseudodighenis as a stooge of the Anglo-Americans and showed to the people that his fire-crackers aim at covering the treachery of the Cyprus problem by the Greek Government of Papagos, the policy of conceding bases to the English, the tactical constitutional blackmail and the split on the part of the Archbishop and the so-called Ethnarchy. ... The pseudo-dighenis, a stooge of the Anglo-American imperialists, underestimates the intelligence of the Cypriot people and thinks that with fire-crackers and threats he can change the inexorable events, terrorise the people and draw them into his pro-imperialist designs."*⁶⁵

The above positions of AKEL did not carry weight with quite a few party members and followers. Indeed, some people of the left actively participated in the EOKA struggle.

These leftists dissented from the position held by the leadership of their organizations and proclaimed their views through leaflets. The leaflets were being distributed by the Organisation of Leftist Nationalists (O.A.E.).

65. P. Papademetris - P. Petrides, "Historical Encyclopedia of Cyprus (1878-1978)," Vol. 11, pp. 13-14,41.

Cited below are some excerpts from their leaflets. On 18 February 1958 they said:

"Patriots of the Left,

At this critical juncture of our national liberation struggle, when the English are anxious to cause dissent within the forces of the CYPRIOT people, with the popular movement kneeling under the treacherous weight of an unworthy leadership, the need arises for organizing the coherence of the healthy patriotic forces of the left. Now is the time to communicate with you, to exchange views and conclusions and to proceed to the implementation of a programme, which will pull the popular movement out of the slimy quagmire where it has been pushed by forces alien to the national interests of the Cyprus people and of the working class. Where are we today and where are we going? But let us take things from the start.

In a suffocating atmosphere of national oppression, with our mouths gagged, hands tied, the people forced to their knees by insolvency, with farmers' debts soaring to many millions of pounds, the military bases in full orgasm, the patriotic people of Cyprus were left with no way out but to take up arms, raise the banner of national revolution, in order to rewrite a Souli and a Messolonghi, an Arkadi and a Marathon.^(Trans. note 4) What is the natural alignment of the popular movement in such a struggle? In a struggle against international imperialism, the foreign occupier and the military bases? Certainly on the frontline, certainly at the forefront."

Further down the leaflet said:

"We have information clearly showing that the order not to leave the masked men alone, but to strike at them, was a real one. This explains the latest unfortunate and sorrowful events that caused the lives of some boys of the working people."

The leaflet concluded as follows:

"Brothers, EOKA has repeatedly stated that it is only a military organization, aiming to chase the occupier away. On the other hand,

Transl. n. 4: Landmarks of Greek history.

the policy of Makarios has been proved to be the right, fighting, progressive policy. It is not the time now for sociopolitical differences. Those of us who agree that the struggle for self-determination should be uncompromising and that the people can resort to arms when necessity calls for it, those of us who agree that the monolithic appearance of the leadership is helpful to the struggle, all those of us who swear that we shall not have a good night's sleep until we have self-determination, let us rally together in the Organisation of Nationalist Leftists. Love for man and for his freedom has pushed us to the left. In the struggle for such an attainment, any sacrifice is small."

In its leaflet of 11th March 1958, the Organisation of Nationalist Leftists stated:

"It is time to put an end to this anti-national, anti-Marxist activity of our leadership. It is time to reveal their dirty nature, to expose them and unite with the other struggling Cypriot people in a single fighting front. Even at this late moment" (The title of the leaflet was: "Us and them.")

In March 1957 AKEL reviewed its stance towards the EOKA liberation struggle, at least theoretically. The party Central Committee in a decision stated the following:

"At the same time the Central Committee openly underlines that in our stance towards EOKA we committed a series of mistakes, some of them quite serious. First of all we seriously under-estimated the EOKA movement from the start, considering it to be a movement by a few dozen rightist fanatics, destined to die out in a few months, and we failed to follow the preparations that had been going on for three years. Secondly, the announcement by the Political Bureau in April 1955 was a very hasty and unwise move, that betrayed confusion and a lack of self control and in the way the issue was tackled, by theorizing about individual terrorism using quotes from Lenin, did not help at all the masses to properly understand the reasons for which our party disagreed with the tactic of the armed struggle. Thirdly, the characterizations we gave to EOKA and its fighters in our announcements and articles, calling them 'pseudo-

dighenides', 'thugs,' 'firecrackers', 'bangers' etc were provocative and sectarian and while they did not serve at all our national cause and the unity of the people, we armed EOKA and monarchic fascism in their attack against the party and the People's movement, carrying water to the mill of discord and risking civil war."⁶⁶

The attitude of EOKA towards AKEL was shown clearly in the leaflets, which the Organisation put out to keep the people informed. In those it stressed that it was carrying out a liberation Struggle, aimed exclusively against the English colonialists.

Some excerpts from the EOKA leaflets are the following:

a) *"We shall harm no one whatever their political convictions. But we shall strike at the traitors, imposing on them the penalties they deserve, regardless of the political camp to which they belong"* (From the leaflet *"The Windmills of AKEL,"* undated).

b) *"We do not attack communists, we respect everybody's ideology, but we shall not tolerate to have our sanguinary road blocked by those who refuse to shed even one droplet for our liberation from the English"* (From the pamphlet *"The Incurable,"* undated).

c) Dighenis (codename ATLAS) writing to an EOKA member (codename ATHANATOS) said the following:

"You must encourage the tendency to sign declarations of loyalty to the Archbishop, as well as cooperation between rightists and leftists on the precedent of Trikomos and Yialousa."

d) *"No one has to fear anything from us on account of their political convictions."* (From the leaflet *"This is who they are,"* undated).

Nikos Zachariades, Secretary General of the Communist Party of Greece, reveals the identity of Dighenis

Ever since the beginning of the Struggle the English sought to discover who was hiding behind the pseudonym of Dighenis, asserting to be the leader of EOKA. The General Secretary of the Communist

⁶⁶ General George Grivas-Dighenis, *"Memoirs..."*, p. 51.

Party of Greece, Nikos Zachariades, gave them the answer on 24 April 1955 when in a speech broadcast over the radio channel "Free Greece" he said that the leader of EOKA was the Cypriot Colonel George Grivas. From then onwards until the end of the Struggle the English used every means for his arrest but without result. They offered thousands of pounds in exchange for information that could lead to his capture, but they did not achieve their purpose.

The "Free Greece" station through its broadcasts continued to level accusations against the EOKA liberation struggle, against Dighenis and Archbishop Makarios. It said the following about the Archbishop on 26 April 1955:

*"The capitulator and discord-sowing Makarios was not ashamed even in Bandung, where he went pretending to campaign for the freedom of Cyprus, to offer strategic bases to the British. We must uncover the traitors of the nation, under whatever mask they appear and in this way isolate them."*⁶⁷

The broadcasts of the Athens radio about the struggle

The Hellenic Broadcasting Corporation considerably boosted the national morale of the freedom fighting Cypriots with its fiery broadcasts.

We quote an excerpt from a 1955 radio commentary, which was broadcast after the first student demonstrations and the court trials that followed:

"The Cypriot youth is facing stubbornly and resolutely the repeated waves of terrorism, unleashed daily by the English administration of the island. One trial succeeds another. And the next trial is a pretext for others to follow. The exalted heartbeats of the Cypriot youth shook Cyprus again yesterday and the day before yesterday. Barbed wires were overturned. And the rallying cry was again heard from thousands of mouths: Long live Enosis. The youth of Cyprus has already made its decision: To rid itself of the yoke of slavery that they

⁶⁷ P. Papademetris - P. Petrides, *"Historical Encyclopaedia of Cyprus (1878-1978),"* Vol. 11, p. 34.

have imposed on it. The Cypriot youth no longer tolerates the unlawfulness of servitude.⁶⁸

The British Government complained about the broadcasts of the Greek state radio in the beginning of April 1955 with a diplomatic note by its Ambassador in Athens Sir Charles Peake to the Greek Government. The latter replied through its diplomatic service.

The Athens newspaper "Kathimerini" published the following commentary on the British note:

"The protest by the British Government about the broadcasts of Radio Athens on the Cyprus problem is not justified either morally or substantially. From the moment Greece chartered the course that it deemed necessary to follow, the issue of enlightenment has become top priority. The broadcasts of the Athens Radio do nothing more than to interpret the sentiments and thoughts of the Greek people about the Cypriot struggle. The Greek Government cannot prevent the people from impulsively judging the British policy by its public feeling outside the framework of rigid diplomacy. It is strange that our English friends, instead of trying to touch the essence of the matter and think that it is time they put a stop to the causes of tension between Greece and Britain, busy themselves with details that are insignificant compared to the true dimensions of the problem."

The British Colonial Secretary, Alan Lennox-Boyd, stated in the House of Commons on 5 May 1955 during a debate on Cyprus that these broadcasts were "completely irreconcilable with the ties of friendship and alliance between Britain and Greece." As for the British Prime Minister Anthony Eden, he described them in his memoirs as a bomb attack from Athens.⁶⁹

5. THE CYPRIOT PEOPLE FIGHT AS ONE AGAINST THE ENGLISH

All social classes embraced the EOKA struggle with affection, because it aimed at the liberation of Cyprus from the English yoke and

68. Spyros Papageorgiou, "Cyprus Tempest 1955-1959," p. 139.

69. Spyros Papageorgiou, "Cyprus Tempest 1955-1959," p. 138.

its union with Greece, a demand deeply rooted in the pure soul of the Greek Cypriot people.

The contribution by the people

EOKA through its activity won the love and trust of the Cypriot people, which helped, protected and defended its fighters in many ways. The approval and participation of the people in the struggle of 1955-1959 had a great significance for its success.

Dighenis wrote on this issue:

"It is impossible for a liberation movement to succeed, however worthy its leader may be, unless it is universal, that is unless the people embrace it and the young generation actively participate in it. The participation of the people, or at least their favourable reception of the movement is indispensable because: a) From the aspect of international repercussions, the movement appears as representing the universal will of the people and not just that of a few hot-blooded individuals and b) It is to the people that we apply for securing all those things that will serve the armed struggle (concealment of movement, hideouts, supplies, information, propaganda and every kind of support) and it is also from the people that we shall draw cadres and members, which will actively participate in actions that aid the struggle."^{69a}

Michalakis Maratheftis in a speech he delivered on 3 December 1995 at a symposium organized by the Council for the Historical Memory of the EOKA Struggle 1955-1959 on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the Liberation Struggle, aptly noted in treating the theme "The People in the EOKA Struggle":

"If the Cypriot youth with the combat groups of EOKA in the towns and villages, the guerrilla corps in the mountains of Cyprus and the organized groups of ANE constituted the spear point of the Cypriot liberation struggle, the inconspicuous people were the in-

69a. General George Grivas-Dighenis, "Memoirs ...," p.138.

dispensable spear shaft that supports and gives force to the driving edge."⁷⁰

In developing his theme, the speaker referred to the direct and indirect participation of the people in the Struggle, defining each as follows:

The direct participation was: a) availability by initiated persons of their houses and other places to the Organisation as hideouts and shelters. b) Constant care for the guerrillas, the wanted persons and other fighters who stayed in hideouts.

The indirect solidarity of the people was expressed by: a) confidentiality and silence. b) Perseverance. c) Passive resistance. d) Participation in the Unified Compact National Front (EAEM). e) Participation in the organized rural population for self-defence against the English forces. f) Participation in the organized self-defence against the Turkish pogroms. g) Enduring pain and death.

Two characteristic excerpts from the speech by Michalakīs Maratheftīs which demonstrate the indirect participation of the people are the following:

a) *Persistence was another form of resistance to the English occupier. It was manifested as perseverance against the vandalisms and other various oppressive measures taken by the English occupation forces and was transformed into a firm will to endure, regardless of how long it would take before the final victory. The people endured the almost daily bodily searches in the streets, the house searches without a warrant, the frequent curfews, the isolation of villages, the concentration of the inhabitants within barbed wire, the blowing up of private houses and association buildings, the imposition of collective fines. And in all of these cases the moral courage of the people remained unaffected, their resistance mounted and opened the way to freedom.*"⁷¹

70. "The Struggle of EOKA in History," published by the Council for the Historical Memory of the EOKA Struggle 1955-1959, Ministry of Education and Culture, Nicosia 1996, p.31.

71. "The EOKA Struggle in History," p.34.



All men were subjected to bodily search by the occupation army.

b) *"Facing pain and death. I saved last the most human aspect of the Cypriot people's support to the struggle of EOKA, in order to reveal its height and magnitude. This is the endurance shown towards pain and death by the parents of the fighters and the martyred heroes as they watched their children being arrested and tortured, sentenced to imprisonment, held without trial in concentration camps, transported to the prisons of the United Kingdom, fall heroically in the battlefield and, the most shocking of all, seeing them march emotionally to the gallows. This hero-breeding generation has written with its courageous soul, rising above the natural paternal philtre and the innate maternal affection, pages of incomparable grandeur that will serve as a measure of love for one's country and for freedom."*⁷²

The above represent without any exaggeration the realities of the heroic years 1955-1959. Two events that are cited below offer an example of the moral strength displayed by the parents of the fighters:

72. "The EOKA Struggle in History," pp.37-38.

1) Flourentza Karyou was the mother of two EOKA heroes, Andreas and Georgios Karyos. Andreas was one of the four fighters who fell heroically in the line of duty at the Liopetri barn on 2 September 1958. His brother Georgios was gravely wounded on 19 October 1958 in a battle with English soldiers at Astromeritis and died in the Nicosia General Hospital on 28 October 1958. At the burial of her second hero child the mother did not burst into lamentation and dirges. She saw her son off to his eternal abode with a rhyming couplet:

*"Every forty days I give a son to my country dear
hoping that freedom will come within a year."*⁷³

2) Georgios and Anastasia Rotsides were the parents of guerrilla Savvas Rotsides, the last dead of EOKA. When they learnt of his death on 25 November 1958 they went to the Kyperounda Sanatorium where they dressed him in his wedding clothes and then took him home. Many people from all over Cyprus gathered to bid farewell to the hero. His parents ordered the church bells to toll joyously as if it were Easter and offered wedding sweets to the people.⁷⁴

Such was the moral strength of the common people, who fought for the freedom of Cyprus! The leader of EOKA was justified in writing:

"It is very rare in history that such a small people performed so great and noble a task that kept growing as the pressure of the enemy and the duration of their ordeal increased."^{74a}

The Academy of Athens, acknowledging the contribution of the people to the struggle for the freedom of Cyprus awarded them on 20 March 1957 its gold medal, accompanied by the following resolution:

"The Academy of Athens decided, on 20 March 1957, on a Thursday, to honour with its gold medal the champion people of Hellenic

73. "The martyred heroes of EOKA." Study - texts by Panayiota Psillita-Ioannou. Published by the Council for the Historical Memory of EOKA 1955-1959. Ministry of Education and Culture, Nicosia, p.47.

74. "The martyred heroes of EOKA," p. 89.

74a. General Goerge Grivas - Digenis, *Memoirs...*, p.319.

*Cyprus, which has displayed great courage in suffering, a people which bears the weight of a lethal and celebrated struggle for freedom and has proved worthy of Greece through hard but glorious deeds, and to wish it a quick and sweet-tasting reward for its labours and risks by winning a shining victory and glory."*⁷⁵

The President
Panayiotis Poulitsas

The General Secretary
A. K. Orlandos

The contribution by educationalists- The operation of "underground schools."

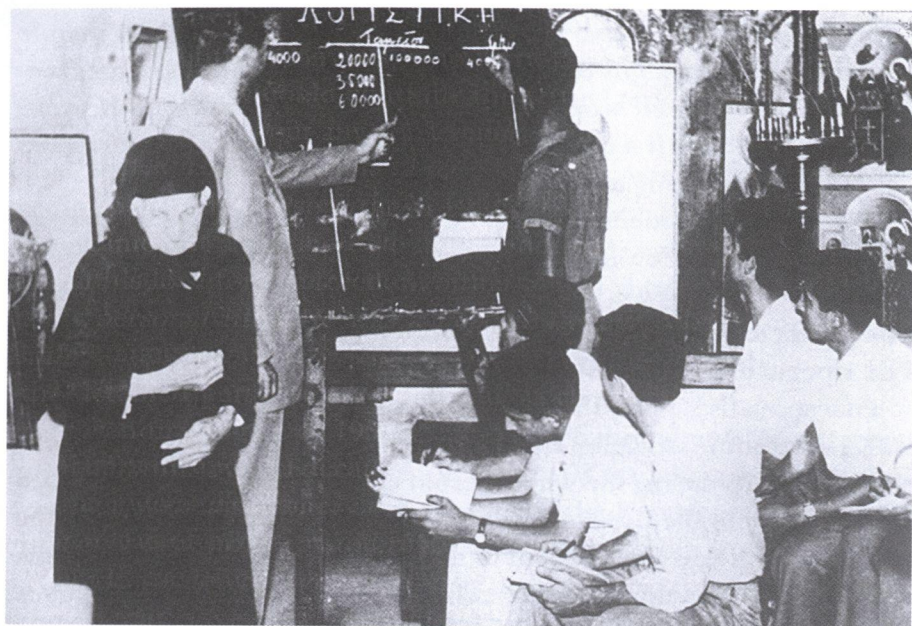
Educationalists played a very important part in the success of the EOKA liberation struggle. Through their teachings and overall work with the pupils during the whole period of English rule, they fashioned men attached to the Greek ideals, the most important of which are the Christian faith and the freedom of one's country. Therefore, when the time came to rise up for the freedom of Cyprus, teachers and pupils threw themselves to the EOKA Struggle in a spirit of selflessness and self-sacrifice. Many teachers were members of EOKA or PEKA and offered valuable services.

The reaction of the English against the schools, the teachers and the pupils took many forms, the main ones being the deportation of teachers who came from Greece at the end of the school year 1955-1956, the withdrawal of the teaching licence from Cypriot teachers, the shutting down of secondary schools because of demonstrations and of elementary schools for hoisting the Greek flag.

The schools of secondary education that did not function for months were the Samuel Commercial School and the Pancyprian Gymnasium in Nicosia, the Pancyprian Commercial School in Larnaca, the Lanitio Gymnasium in Limassol and the Gymnasiums of Famagusta, Morphou and Lefkoniko.

The closing of schools did not slow down the education of pupils, because the teachers, the students, the parents and the Church worked together to operate "underground schools" at the houses of

75. "The EOKA Struggle in History," pp. 39-40.



An "underground school"

teachers, in churches, at Sunday-schools and in other suitable places. The students attended classes in groups of ten, since the English law considered a larger number of people as an unlawful assembly. The students came to the place of instruction on foot because the use of bicycle was forbidden to persons below the age of 27. This meant that many students had to cover long distances every day in order to reach the classroom.

The final examinations were held in schools recognized by the Greek Government and successful candidates were awarded either a study certificate for promotion to the next grade or a school leaving certificate, which they could use to enroll in an institution of higher or university education.

It should also be mentioned that school classes were held for students who were in prison or in detention camps. They were taught by teachers who were themselves political convicts or detainees because of their participation in the EOKA Struggle.

The number of teachers who suffered the consequences of the English policy reached 105. Of these, many had their teaching licence taken away from them, others were put on the wanted list with five thousand pounds on their head and others were arrested, tortured and locked up in prisons and detention camps.

A teacher, Fotis Pittas, fought bravely at the Liopetri barn and fell heroically with three fellow combatants on 2 September 1958.⁷⁶

Dighenis praised the teachers who together with the clerics played a decisive part in the preparation and conduct of the Struggle. He wrote about them:

*"The admirable work of the secondary and elementary school teachers, as well as that of the clerics, deserves special mention and laudation, because they carried it out under adverse conditions and continued, despite the relentless persecution by the organs of the Government, to educate youth and guide it in the duty towards the Country."*⁷⁷

The contribution of the clergy

The Orthodox Church of Cyprus has throughout the ages been the supporter and true champion of the people's rights.

Recognising the role of the Cyprus Church in the liberation struggle of 1955-1959, Dighenis wrote:

"In Cyprus, as in all of the freedom struggles of our Nation, the Cyprus Church rose to its mission and helped the hard four-year campaign in a way worthy of the Greek Orthodox Church."

He also wrote about the contribution by the monasteries:

"All the Cypriot monasteries gave shelter to the guerrilla groups. Certain of the Fathers at the Monasteries were the suppliers, mes-

76. Michalakis I. Maratheftis, "The liberation struggle of 1955-1959 and Greek education in Cyprus," a study included in the book "The University of Athens and Cyprus," Series: Cypriaka, volume III. Published by the National Kapodistrian University of Athens, Athens 1998, pp.41-42.

77. George Grivas Dighenis, "Chronicle...", p. 21.



*Youth was emphatically present in the Struggle of EOKA.
This snapshot is from a student demonstration.*

sengers, guardians and guides of the mountain teams of EOKA, fulfilling their mission in a commendable way."⁷⁸

The contribution by the clergy to the EOKA Struggle stretched from Archbishop Makarios, chairman of the twelve-member Committee for the liberation of Cyprus, to the priest of the smallest village. On account of his active involvement in the Struggle, Makarios was exiled to the Seychelles together with the Kyrenia Bishop Kyprianos, Papastavros Papagathangelou, chief priest of the Phaneromeni church in Nicosia, and Polykarpos Ioannides, Secretary of the Kyrenia Bishopric, all of them national fighters and ardent advocates of the union of Cyprus with Greece.

The written testimony of Papastavros Papagathangelou, who had initiated a great number of members to EOKA, offers a characteristic description of the Cypriot clerics' national motivation:

78. George Grivas-Diggenis, "Chronicle...", p.40.

*"Faithful to the teachings of the New Testament, to our national history and to the tradition of the Greek Orthodox Clergy, who have always taken the lead in all the adventures of our people, whether religious or national, I considered it my duty and obligation since the early years of my life, to enlist in this campaign for the national rehabilitation of Cypriot Hellenism. And I enlisted."*⁷⁹

Some clerics were top members of EOKA. Others swore in new members of the Organisation, concealed weapons, offered hospitality to wanted fighters and contributed every kind of help in towns and villages towards the successful outcome of the Struggle. In addition, with their sermons in the churches, their teaching at Sunday schools and their guidance in the OHEN (Boys and Girls) and other religious foundations, they strengthened the religious and national morale of youth and of the people at large.

Among the many who fell in the battlefield, those who died on the gallows, the imprisoned and the enclaved in detention camps, the tortured, the arrested and those who remained at large, there was a multitude of students and graduates of Sunday schools and members of religious associations.

The attestation of Archbishop Makarios to the contribution by the religiously active youth to the EOKA liberation struggle is very explicit:

*"The youth of Cyprus, especially the religiously practicing ones, have been the major factor of victory. The soldiers of the Church became at the same time loyal soldiers of the motherland."*⁸⁰

As a consequence of the clerics' participation in the EOKA struggle, about seventy of them became political detainees.

The rich contribution of the Cyprus Church to the Struggle led the cruel and merciless Governor Sir John Harding to state after his fail-

79. Papastavros Papagathangelou, "My testimony...", p.529.

80. Panayiota Panagopoulou-Roupina, "Examples of heroes. The martyred heroes of the Cypriot Epic 1955-1959," Athens 1994, "Astir" Publications, pp. 214-215.

ure to quell the revolutionary movement and his recall by the British Government:

*"When I arrived in Cyprus, I came up with a brutal and inhuman Organisation, backed by an unscrupulous Church."*⁸¹

The contribution of youth

The youth of Cyprus played the major part in the success of the EOKA Struggle. They joined the Organisation from early on and dedicated themselves wholly to the realization of its aims. The first core teams of saboteurs and fighters stimulated enthusiasm in many other young men with their action,



A British soldier searches the school bags of young pupils.

but also the girls, who were used in confidential posts as well and carried out the missions assigned to them with great success. They distinguished themselves for their courage, their boldness, their secrecy and their endurance to the horrible tortures they were sub-

jected to by their interrogators. Besides other services they provided, some of the girls undertook to carry handguns used during operations of execution against members of the security forces. On certain occasions they hurled grenades against military vehicles.

Dighenis wrote about them:

"The young girls of Cyprus not only did not lag behind the boys in boldness and sacrifice, but to the contrary they proved worthy of the women of Sparta, Souli and Messolonghi" ("Memoirs" p.40).

In his *"Chronicle of the EOKA Struggle 1955-1959"* (pp.4-6) the EOKA leader uses highly praising words to describe the contribution of youth to the Struggle. I quote some characteristic extracts:

a) *"The youth of Cyprus gave its priceless blood to the liberation struggle and earned deserving glory. It has written historic pages for which the Greek Nation shall be proud."*

b) *"They responded admirably to the sacrifices asked of them."*

c) *"They displayed incomparable moral courage and remarkable determination...Many times I asked difficult things of them, sometimes I even asked them to do things that are impossible even to experienced soldiers of a regular army."*

d) *"In my military life I never came across such steady drive and determination of such a long duration, lasting four successive years, as that displayed by the Greek Cypriot youth, who indeed presented the following paradox: Whilst fatigue is a human reaction, whilst the overwhelming superiority of the enemy may often cause the most brave to succumb and the risks and sacrifices may inspire fear, the opposite was the case with the Greek Cypriot Youth. The stronger the pressure exercised by the enemy, the greater was their reaction to it."*

In his book *"The EOKA Struggle and Guerrilla Warfare"*, Dighenis makes the following noteworthy observation:

"I do not know of another example in history, where youth as a whole, young boys and girls, participated actively and so effectively in the struggle of their country" (p.26).

Dighenis wrote about youth operations in the Struggle:

"The first missions assigned to them within the sector commands

*"The struggle began with the indomitable Cypriot Youth. It was carried out with them under unimaginably difficult circumstances. Without the young, no work so great and so difficult could have been performed."*⁸²

When Dighenis praised youth for their contribution to the Struggle, he did not mean only the boys,

81. Spyros Papageorgiou, "Cyprus Tempest 1955-1959," p.587.

82. George Grivas - Digenis, "Chronicle ...," p.4.

were: Distribution of the Organisation's leaflets, patriotic group expeditions and demonstrations, soliciting and gathering of information, tailing suspected persons and informers. Then, as their ranks became more coherent and they grew accustomed to discipline, they formed, having undergone the necessary training, groups of saboteurs, manufacturers of explosives, urban hit squads, monitoring teams for the economic boycott, and finally the bravest and most trustworthy were chosen as members of the armed bands in various categories."⁸³

The contribution of the press

The Cypriot press served the purposes of the Struggle to a great extent. Acknowledging its contribution, Dighenis praised it in the following words:

*"I have to admit that, to its merit, the press conformed fully to the suggestions and instructions of the Organisation, having realized as time passed its own role in the Struggle, so that openly and in full accord it trumpeted our righteous cause and castigated the tyrannical actions and suppressive measures of the Authorities, as well as the wrongful policy of the British Government on the Cyprus issue, following the line of the Organisation."*⁸⁴

In the Album under the title "The EOKA Struggle through the Cypriot press," published in 1997 by the Press and Information Office, the President of the Republic Glafcos Clerides, said in his message:

"The great contribution and the substantial role of the press in portraying the events of the period 1955-1959 emerge lively in this meticulous publication. The personages and events of that glorious epoch come to life in the pages of this Album. The emotion of the people, the daily outbursts of their experiences and feelings, their unwavering faith and unbreakable morale together with their as-

83. George Grivas - Digenis, "Chronicle...", p. 6.

84. George Grivas - Digenis, "Memoirs ...", p.40.

tounding sacrifices and unyielding spirit are brought to the imagination. Everything that makes up and points to that heroic era is recalled to memory, putting together the verses of the most beautiful epic song of Cyprus" (p.5).

Dinos Michaelides, Interior Minister at the time the Album was published, also acknowledged the great contribution of the press in the liberation Struggle and said in his message:

"The contribution of the press to that universal uprising of our people has been significant and substantial. In extremely adverse conditions, under the suppressive, illiberal colonial climate, the people of the press honoured their profession, carrying out their mission to the full. The press not only wrote and reported the events, but also felt and transmitted the pulse of the Struggle, supported and reinforced the struggle and from its own rampart and in its own way it inspired and guided the people" (p.7).

6. THE EOKA STRUGGLE CONTINUES- THE ENGLISH REACTION

Following the explosions of 1st April, the British military forces were placed on the alert. As from the night of 6 April 1955, armed British soldiers moved to the main towns of Cyprus and carried out joint patrols with the police in order to maintain law and order.

EOKA kept up the activity it had initiated on 1st April, with attacks of sabotage against government buildings, police stations and military installations, and also with ambushes against military vehicles and by opening fire at the security forces.

The English authorities tried in every way to break EOKA apart, calling its members "terrorists." They made arrests, imposed individual and collective fines, set up detention camps for political dissidents, sentenced the fighters to long prison terms, poured a lot of money into corrupting consciences, resorted to terrible tortures of those arrested and introduced death by hanging for the fighters.

The desire for freedom, however, could not be smothered by suppression and crude force and measures such as the above brought about the opposite result. They made the fighters more stubborn,

leading them to undertake more dangerous and daring missions. The people, suffering hardships under the English, supported EOKA and bolstered its campaign.

Eight Cypriot students come to Cyprus from Athens in May 1955 to reinforce the EOKA Struggle

In the beginning of May 1955 eight Cypriot students of Athens University who had been trained in the revolutionary movement, interrupted their studies, returned to their island and offered to participate in the liberation struggle of EOKA. Dighenis used them as section commanders and group leaders. All eight of them contributed valuable services. The names of the students were:

1. Renos Kyriakides, a student of Maths and Physics
2. Thassos Sophocleous, a student of Maths and Physics
3. Fotis Papafotis, a student of Theology
4. Petros Stylianou, a student of Classics
5. Nikos Angelides, a student of Classics
6. Andreas Nestoros, a medical student
7. Andreas Lambrianides, a student of Theology (He had just graduated)
8. Nikos Spanos, a student of Classics (He came in June)

The most important events of the EOKA activity during the period May - September 1955

1) On 24 May there took place in Nicosia the first organized militant demonstration by the EOKA school youth. About 700 schoolboys and schoolgirls participated, taking the police by surprise with a hail of stones and forcing them to call in military reinforcements.

2) On 25 May, EOKA member Charilaos Xenofontos placed a time bomb in the "Pallas" cinema under the seat which was to be occupied by Governor Armitage. It went off at 11.10 p.m. and caused only material damage. The Governor had left at 11 p.m.

3) On 19 June, the police station at the Nicosia suburb of Ayios Dhometios became the target of a dynamite attack, with serious results. On the same day a bomb exploded in the Nicosia central po-



A school demonstration in Metaxas Square.

lice building, causing human casualties and extensive material damage.

4) During this five-month period of 1955, explosions and attacks against police stations, military patrols or houses of English army personnel were carried out in all the towns of Cyprus. Locally manufactured hand grenades were also used, which the Chief of Police Robins described as very dangerous, noting that it was the first time they had seen them in Cyprus. Replying to press questions on 20 June, he said he did not know anything about EOKA and that he was not "on its trail."

5) On 22 June, the following two events occurred:

a) The first attack by an EOKA guerilla group, led by the Pitsilia section commander Renos Kyriakides, took place against the police station of Amiandos. It left the station sergeant dead and a wounded policeman. The EOKA men made away with four guns.

b) The deteriorating situation in Cyprus led the Middle East

British Defence Coordination Committee to convene and discuss the issue at Wolseley Barracks, where the Middle East Headquarters were situated. Commander-in-chief Sir Charles Keetly participated in the meeting. The English experts were astounded by the activity of EOKA.

6) The activity of EOKA heartened its members and greatly gratified Archbishop Makarios, who wrote to Dighenis on 11 July:

*"I congratulate you. EOKA has contributed to the Cyprus cause infinitely more than did the 75- year old war of words. The name DIGHENIS is a riddle for the English and at the same time a legend. It has already gone down in the history of liberation movements."*⁸⁵

7) On 6 August, the Governor legislated the setting up of an auxiliary police, in which many Turkish Cypriots enlisted. By another law on 13 August, the Governor introduced a seven-year prison sentence for anyone carrying arms.

8) On 3 September, an EOKA group headed by Antonis Papadopoulos raided the Paralimni police station and, having put the policemen out of action, got away with arms and ammunition.

9) In order to cope with the situation created by the EOKA activity in Cyprus, the English brought in military reinforcements from Malta and the Suez. On 10 and 11 September, 1,500 commandos arrived from Malta. The first military expedition from Suez arrived on 17 September and more followed, bringing with them abundant war supplies.

10) On 15 September, the Governor issued a decree declaring EOKA an illegal organization, because "it was used to promote disturbances and a rebellious attitude in the colony."

11) On 17 September, massive demonstrations were held in Metaxas Square (today Eleftheria Square) in Nicosia. The demonstrators carried banners with slogans, one of which read: "the commandos shall be taught a lesson." Stoning of military vehicles followed and one of them was set ablaze. Subsequently the demon-

85. General George Grivas-Digenis "Memoirs...", p.44.

strators set fire to the building of the British Institute. The police finally used tear gas to disperse the demonstrators.

12) On 22 September, a team of the EOKA Pitsilia section raided the Mitsero mine. They took away with them 1,500 sticks of dynamite and 50 oke of fuse wire.^{Trans.note 5}

EOKA members are sentenced for their activity

On 22 June 1955 the Criminal Court delivered its judgment in the case of five EOKA members, who participated in the events of 1st April 1955 in Larnaca. Sentences of three to nine years imprisonment were imposed. The nine-year jail sentence was imposed on the Larnaca section commander Stavros Poskotis. The other four convicted fighters were Michalakis Parides, Xanthos Iacovides, Giorgos Lykourgos and Iacovos Kaiserlides.

After the sentence was read out in court, Stavros Poskotis spoke from the dock on behalf of all the others:

*"The unconquerable Greek soul cannot be daunted by either imprisonment, suppression or any other penalty. There are Greek hearts beating in our chests."*⁸⁶

The detention law of 15 July 1955

On 15 July 1955, the Governor took what he believed to be drastic measures to put EOKA out of action. The detention law was published in the official gazette and put immediately into effect. According to its provisions, if the Governor formed the opinion that any person was a member of an illegal organization, he could be arrested with a warrant and held as a political detainee without any charges being brought against him and without trial for as long as it was deemed necessary. What the detention law did was to abolish the citizens' right of habeas corpus in Cyprus.

Archbishop Makarios addressed a strong letter of protest to the

Trans.note 5: Ottoman weight measure, 1 oke being equivalent to 2.8 pounds. Used until the 1970s

86. Yiannis Spanos, "EOKA. This is how Greek night," vol. A, p.p. 177-178.

United Nations Secretary General on 19 July against the repressive measures the English Governor was imposing in Cyprus by introducing the law of 15 July 1955. He said amongst other things in his letter:

*"This measure is contrary to the basic provisions of the rights of man and of the citizen, it abolishes habeas corpus and creates a police regime of terrorism and violence on the island, not at all unlike the regimes used by the Fascists and the Nazis in the territories they occupied during the war."*⁸⁷

From 15 July 1955 to 22 February 1959, about 3,300 Greeks of Cyprus spent months or years detained in the Nicosia central prison, in the Kyrenia castle and in special concentration camps set up for this purpose at Kokkinotrimithia, Pyla, Mammari and Polemi. The political detainees were men and women, laymen and clerics, teachers and pupils, farmers and labourers, suspected of participating in the EOKA struggle. Many of them ended up in the detention camps after many days of inhuman torture.

Nitsa Hadjigeorgiou, who personally experienced the dreadful conditions at the Nicosia central prison as a female detainee, stated when she was released on 15 December 1957 that in the detention camps and at the Omorphita police station *"life is worse than in the grave. Every day of detention brings new shocks to the body and the mind."*⁸⁸

The measure of detention without trial, and other harsher ones that followed, aimed at spreading fear and panic among the Cypriot people so as to break its morale. But the opposite result was achieved, strengthening the will to fight to the end.

A series of laws enacted from 1955 to 1958 on the question of detention without trial have been published. On the primary law see Detention of Persons Law, 1955 (section 2): Page 98 in "Statute Laws 1955."

87. "The Complete Works of Archbishop Makarios III of Cyprus," volume 2, p.252.

88. General George Grivas-Digenis, "Memoirs...", Appendix, p. 29.

Fighters escape

Many political detainees and political convicts, who were EOKA members, planned their escape so they could continue the struggle against the English. They did not care about any consequences their escape might have.

Inside the detention camp and the prison, the freedom fighter lost his personality and became but a number. He underwent constant torment on account of his love for the freedom of his country. He felt insecure about his personal life. *"He was a hostage to the brutal will of militarism."*

A vivid picture of the detained persons' psychological world is given in the book "Our liberation struggle of 1955-1959 - a first introduction," published by the Ministry of Education and Culture:

"You soon realized that you were a prisoner of the most inhuman brutality, which sought in every possible way to break you down, to crush your morale, to degrade you, to reduce you to nothing."

And they had many ways; they possessed all the means to torture your soul, to fight you incessantly. One weapon only they did not have: that which could mortally smite your faith; faith to God and in the Struggle for freedom. This faith was the impregnable force that kept you upright. They were the unbeatable powers that prevailed in the end. And the more you became aware of these powers, the more you endured. And then you were ready for anything. You made up your mind. A mystic liturgy began in your mind. Your brain and your senses set in motion, slowly and methodically, the process of escape. You ended up with a plan. You submitted it to the Council, the supreme authority of EOKA inside the camp, appointed by order of Dighenis. If the plan and the names suggested were approved of, you received the message to wait. For, there were other escape plans beside yours and a choice of escapees had to be made, according to the judgment of the Council and the approval by the Leader of the Organisation. In this way daring escapes from the detention camps and the prisons were successfully made from time to time, of fighters who accomplished great deeds through amazing acts of bravery and glorious self-sacrifice" (pp.34-35).

16 fighters escape from Kyrenia castle

On the night of 23 September 1955, EOKA had a big success. Despite strict measures taken by the English, 16 political detainees, all of them important EOKA members, escaped from the Kyrenia castle. Those who escaped were: Marcos Drakos, Lambros Kafkallides, Michalakis Rossides, Lefkios Rodosthenous, Petros Stylianos, Petros Papaioannou, Evangelos Evangelakis, Christakis Eleftheriou, Constantinos Loizou, Stelios Siamisis, Charilaos Xenofontos, Pavlos Nikitas, Andreas Polyviou, Panayiotis Papanastasiou, Demos Vryonides, Mikis Fyrrillas.

The escape plan had been submitted to Dighenis, who gave his approval. The operation was carried out as follows:

The 16 detainees gathered in the department of the castle from which they had chosen to make their escape. Some of them set about pounding with iron rods they had hidden in their dormitories the metal bars of the window, through which they would slip and descend on the side of the sea. While they were doing this, other fellow detainees were singing aloud, dancing and raising a clamour, so as to hide the pounding noise. The iron bars of the window would not come off easily, but they finally yielded to the muscular power of Petros Papaioannou. Using bed sheets tied together the detainees lowered themselves to the beach one by one. The escape lasted 16 minutes and it was over at 9.30 p.m.

The 16 escapees broke up in smaller groups and headed towards different directions. Seven of them were caught. The remaining nine, Evangelakis, Xenofontos, Kafkalides, Drakos, Rodosthenous, Fyrrillas, Polyviou, Eleftheriou, and Nikitas, joined up with guerrilla teams and offered many services to the Struggle.

The heroism of the EOKA fighters

For four whole years the EOKA fighters waged an unequal struggle against the British Empire and their heroic exploits won them the sympathy and solidarity of the Cypriot people. Their moral stamina and faithful adherence to the cause of the Struggle were such that they often achieved things, which a reasonable person might con-



Guns were smuggled into Cyprus inside gas cylinders. Pictured above is the fighter Andreas Lambrou.

sider unattainable. The spirit of self-disregard and self-sacrifice which they displayed caused admiration to all the free-thinking people around the world. Many in Cyprus, Greece and in other countries wrote poems and highly praising texts exalting their unsurpassed heroism.

Evangelos Averoff, Foreign Minister of Greece at the time, acknowledged that the EOKA struggle had established the Cyprus question as a big international problem and added: *"This was brought about under extremely adverse conditions, through admirable organizing and courage and quite often through great acts of heroism. A spirit of self-sacrifice had prevailed throughout its chain of command. Everybody, from the Leader of EOKA to its last member, risked their lives day and night for forty-five whole months."*⁸⁹

⁸⁹ Evangelos Averoff - Tositsas, "A history of lost opportunities (Cyprus problem 1950-1963)", volume 2, 2nd edition, p. 149.

From the poems of that heroic epoch we cite only one by way of example. It was written by a Latvian professor of Classics, who signed it as Petros Kikavkas, a Greek rendering of his name. The poet used ancient metre to salute the fighting Cyprus. In a modern Greek translation by Andreas Pastellas, the poem runs as follows:

*Desirable daughter of Zeus, o thou who art born of Cyprus,
Sweet-smiling that from the foam of the dark sea
You surfaced and set your foot ashore,
Save, o goddess, your birthplace, maiden of the mighty father,
By reaching out your hands over your island.
And you, o Cypriot men and flowing-haired women,
Let your hearts be inflamed by the resounding struggle
For this sacred land, the country of the ancestors,
Until with your fighting you shall bring again
The splendid day of freedom you long for so.*⁹⁰

7. THE MAIN POLITICAL EVENTS FROM 1ST APRIL TO 3RD OCTOBER 1955

During this period the Ethnarch Makarios went to the Indonesian capital Bandung, where the Afro-Asian Congress was being held, and informed the participants about the Cyprus problem at an international level. On his return to Cyprus he called a meeting of the Ethnarchy Council to discuss the course of the Cyprus national issue. Britain opposed the application of the self-determination principle to Cyprus and convened the Tripartite Conference in London, at which the governments of Britain, Greece and Turkey were represented. The Conference discussed the Cyprus problem, with Turkey now becoming officially involved in its solution. During the Conference, the Turks unleashed a pogrom against the Greeks of Constantinople and Smyrna. The 10th Session of the United Nations rejected the recourse of Greece on the Cyprus problem. On 25 Sep-

90. "Chronicle of the EOKA Struggle 1955-1959 in the town and district of Limassol by SAPEL," p. 326.

tember, the appointment of Sir John Harding as new Cyprus Governor was announced.

The Ethnarch Makarios works indefatigably to make the Cyprus problem known -His participation in the Afro-Asian Congress at Bandung in Indonesia.

Parallel to the military activity of EOKA, the Archbishop and Ethnarch Makarios became active in many directions to keep the international public opinion informed on the Cyprus problem.

On 15 April 1955, he went to the Indonesian capital Bandung where an Afro-Asian Congress was being held with the participation of heads of state and other officials from 29 countries. Most of these countries had been under colonial rule and were very sympathetic towards the Cyprus problem. On 23 April, the Archbishop called a press conference in Bandung and in his statements he said among other things:

*"The Bandung conference constitutes an historic step towards burying colonialism for good throughout the world. All dependent peoples follow with relief and satisfaction the deliberations of this conference. The Cypriot people shares these feelings more than any other people. Although the Cyprus problem was not directly discussed at the conference, the general condemnation of colonialism by it automatically includes Cyprus."*⁹¹

Explaining what the result would be of applying self-determination to Cyprus, the Archbishop said:

"If Britain grants self-determination, there are three possibilities on which the Cyprus people will be called to decide. These are: Union with Greece, independence or to remain in the British Commonwealth."

Speaking about the Bandung Conference in a later interview with journalists from Egyptian newspapers on 18 May 1955, he said:

91. "The complete works of Archbishop Makarios III of Cyprus," volume 2, pp. 56-64

*"The condemnation of colonialism by this Conference was of particular significance. The Bandung Conference has delivered the greatest blow to this outdated institution."*⁹²

The meeting of the Ethnarchy Council on 13 June 1955

On 13 June 1955, the Ethnarch Makarios called a meeting of the members of the Ethnarchy Council and briefed them about the course of the Cyprus Struggle over the past months. In his address he mentioned amongst other things the following:

a) *"We are of the personal opinion that for some time now the Cyprus problem is constantly following an upward trend, even though there may be small fluctuations to this trend. We do not wish to say that everything is going well and in this way to deceive ourselves or to be shortsighted about the situation and give vent to our vanity by expressing satisfaction, as some people possibly think we are doing. We are trying to see the reality clearly and not to hide it or shut our eyes to it, but to face it with courage and optimism. This optimism we draw from our confidence in the Greek Cypriot people, their fighting spirit and pure patriotic soul. A people who has been under foreign subjugation for such a long time and, despite the efforts and pressures of its occupiers has not learnt the cheap art of serving the ruler and bowing its head to him, but to the contrary has always kept its love for freedom burning, such people is worthy of freedom. And shall regain it. We justifiably believe that the day of Cypriot freedom is not far away."* Trans. n. 6

b) *"We repeat that we and the Greek Government are today in full agreement. The communist leaders in Cyprus disagree. But the communists are not waging a national struggle. They view and examine everything through a partisan eye, their slogan being that the interest of the party is above everything else."*

c) *"Viewing the Cyprus problem from an internal aspect, we ob-*

92. P. Papademetris – P. Petrides "Historic Encyclopaedia of Cyprus (1878 – 1978)," volume 11, pp.16,17.

Trans.n.6. Traditionally Cyprus prelates express themselves in the plural.

serve that developments have clearly shown the national demand of the Cypriot people to be a specific cause, for the realization of which an admirable fighting spirit is manifested, and not a mere sentimentality or vague desire. During the past ten months the Cypriot people has been faced with the worse terrorism and suppression the colonial Government has ever unleashed in Cyprus. It has withstood it with courage and heroism. It has crushed the repeated constitutional attacks by the ruling power, defied the reintroduction of anti-sedition laws, and reacted resolutely to the Government's dihell-enizing measures in education. All this it has done with high morale, with deep-rooted faith and self-denial, having displayed an amazing fighting spirit, which, because of the provocative attitude of the Government, has often been expressed in a thrilling way and brought it into violent conflict with the administration. The bomb attacks and other militant manifestations of the previous days can only be interpreted in this light.

*Regardless, however, of the serious form, which the confrontation between the people and the Government is taking on the island, what is important in the present case and that which must particularly be highlighted, is the fighting spirit and the determination of our people. Never before has the morale of the Cypriot people been so high and so strong as it is today."*⁹³

The Tripartite Conference in London

On 30 June 1955, the British Prime Minister, Anthony Eden, announced in the House of Commons that the British Government had invited the Governments of Greece and Turkey to London for a Tripartite Conference. The invitation said:

"Her Majesty's Government has further studied the strategic and other problems affecting the United Kingdom as well as Greece and Turkey in the Eastern Mediterranean. The Government considers

93. "The complete works of Archbishop Makarios III of Cyprus," vol. 2, pp. 56-64.

that the cooperation of the three countries in this region, based on mutual trust, is essential to their common interests. Consequently, Her Majesty's Government invites the Governments of Greece and Turkey to send representatives, in order to confer with it in London within an early date on political and defence issues affecting the Eastern Mediterranean, including Cyprus."⁹⁴

As soon as the invitation was communicated to the Governments of Greece and Turkey, Archbishop Makarios voiced his disagreement, stating the following to journalists:

"The placing of the Cyprus question within wider contexts and the ensuing involvement of the Turkish Government as a regulating factor of the Cyprus problem, does not constitute a guarantee for the proper handling and resolution of the whole affair.

Furthermore, any discussion of the Cyprus problem in the absence of the directly concerned Cypriot people is unthinkable. Our issue clearly remains a question of self-determination and only on this basis can it be correctly addressed and resolved.

*Although this gesture by Great Britain constitutes a step forward from absolute negation to responsibly acknowledging that a serious problem does exist, we should not get carried away by excessive optimism, but wait for clear and positive decisions."*⁹⁵

The Ethnarchy Council met to examine the situation as it was shaping after the invitation to convene the Tripartite Conference in London. The meeting reached the conclusion that the aim of the English was: 1) to frustrate a new recourse to the United Nations by the Greek Government on the Cyprus issue, 2) to use the influence of the Greek Government in order to water down the fighting disposition of the Cypriot people, 3) to turn the issue into a dispute between Greece and Turkey.

94. "The complete works of Archbishop Makarios III of Cyprus," vol. 2., p. 237.

95. "The complete works of Archbishop Makarios III of Cyprus," vol. 2, pp. 237-238.

It was obvious that the British Government convened the Tripartite Conference because the intensified EOKA campaign, warmly supported by Greece, caused the situation in Cyprus to deteriorate. The Greek Government sought a solution to the Cyprus problem on the basis of the self-determination principle and was stating on record that it would continue its struggle through diplomacy at the United Nations, while the Greek people held spontaneous and enthusiastic demonstrations in favour of Cyprus.

The British moved decidedly to involve Turkey in the solution of the Cyprus problem and in this way to torpedo the recourse to the United Nations being prepared by Greece for the application of the principle of self-determination in the case of the Cyprus people. On 4 July 1955, the Chief of the General Imperial Staff Marshal Sir John Harding went to Ankara for military talks. The Colonial Secretary Lennox-Boyd arrived in Cyprus on 9 July and held talks with Archbishop Makarios, proposing to him the introduction of a constitution for self-government, but ruling out any change in administration. The talks, therefore, led nowhere.

The Greek Government had in the meantime accepted the invitation by the British Government to participate in the London Conference. On 7 July, the Deputy Prime Minister of Greece, Panayiotis Kanellopoulos, handed the British Ambassador in Athens, Sir Charles Peake, the following document:

*"The Greek Government was pleased to learn about the decision of the British Government to invite Greece and Turkey to a Tripartite Conference, at which to discuss with it military and political issues of the Eastern Mediterranean, including Cyprus. The Royal Greek Government fully agrees that the cooperation of Greece with Britain and Turkey is particularly helpful to the defence of the Eastern Mediterranean and is willing to send its representatives to London on the earliest date."*⁹⁶

96. Nikos Kranidiotis, "Difficult years...", p. 95.

Greece's acceptance to participate in the Tripartite Conference in London came as a surprise to the English. The then Foreign Secretary, Harold Macmillan, noted in his Memoirs:

*"The fact that King Paul hastened to send me a personal message, welcoming with satisfaction the bold and perceptive initiative of Great Britain, was a pleasant surprise for me. I was particularly surprised that the Greek Foreign Minister Steph. Stephanopoulos accepted the British proposal without setting any conditions and without making any reservations, saying indeed that the Greeks would be glad to meet with their Turkish friends."*⁹⁷

Nikos Kranidiotis, commenting on the acceptance of the invitation by the Greek Government, wrote that *"it was a huge mistake,"* because *"by this decision it recognized Turkey as an interested party and a legitimate factor in the settlement of the Cyprus problem"* (*"Difficult years - Cyprus 1950-1960"*, p. 95).

On 11 July Archbishop Makarios went to Athens where he held talks with the Greek Government, making the following suggestions to it: 1) Immediate enrollment of the Cyprus problem on the agenda of the United Nations. 2) Acceptance of the British Government's invitation to the Tripartite Conference in London, after the British Government has undertaken the obligation to grant self-determination to the Cyprus people.⁹⁸

The first suggestion of Archbishop Makarios was implemented on 26 July 1955. The second suggestion fell through, since the Greek Government had committed itself with its letter of 7 July, which it had already sent to the British Government.

The Tripartite Conference was set for 29 August 1955. On the day before, the Prime Minister of Greece, Alexandros Papagos, stated:

"We do not consider the maintenance of Greco-Turkish friendship to be incompatible with a satisfactory solution of the Cyprus problem. To the contrary, I believe that the settlement of this prob-

97. Nikos Kranidiotis, *"Difficult years ..."*, p.95 (footnote).

98. General George Grivas-Digenis, *"Memoirs..."*, p. 53.

*lem will strengthen even more the ties that exist today between our two countries."*⁹⁹

The 3rd Pan-Cyprian National Assembly convened in Nicosia on 26 August to discuss the Tripartite Conference in London and formulated its opposition to it. Archbishop Makarios addressed the National Assembly, saying among other things:

*"The Cyprus problem is clearly a question of self-determination and the Tripartite Conference is not a competent body for the solution of this problem. If the British Government were sincerely interested in solving this question, it ought to invite the directly concerned Cypriots for talks. The talks should be bilateral between the British Government and that of Greece, the latter acting as a proxy for the greatest majority of the Cypriots. Why is Turkey given a place in the Tripartite Conference to participate with equal rights? The Cyprus problem is not a Greco-Turkish dispute, nor is it a dispute among the three powers of the Tripartite Conference, but it is first of all an Anglo-Cypriot and in extenso a Greek-English dispute. The English Government has toiled very hard to kindle a Turkish interest in Cyprus. The result of these British tactics was that the Turks themselves have started to believe that they hold property titles over Cyprus. They forget that, by virtue of article 16 of the Treaty of Lausanne they have already relinquished all rights on the island, if they ever had any. The following words by the head of the Turkish delegation at Lausanne and later Prime Minister and President of the Turkish Republic Ismet Pasha, are recorded in the minutes of this Treaty: 'I have repeatedly stated that the Government of the Great National Assembly of Turkey does not raise any claim on territories of the former Ottoman Empire, which were left outside the borders of Turkey.'*¹⁰⁰

In a resolution the 3rd Pan-Cyprian National Assembly underlined that *"it would not accept any decision of the Tripartite Conference,*

99. Leontios Ierodiakonou, *"The Cyprus problem,"* p. 98.

100. *"The complete works of Archbishop Makarios III of Cyprus,"* vol. 2, pp. 71-72.

which would not be in accordance with the expressed will of the Cypriot people."¹⁰¹

The deliberations of the Conference began on 29 August and ended on 7 September 1955. We sum up the positions taken by the three Foreign Ministers of the participating countries.

Macmillan, the Foreign Secretary of Britain, referred to the occupation of Cyprus by his country in 1878 and the strategic responsibilities it was undertaking at the time. He then proceeded to speak of the present responsibilities and obligations of Britain in the Middle East and supported the view that his country must continue to occupy Cyprus in order to be able to discharge those responsibilities. The proposal of the British Government to the Cypriots was to grant them self-government within the context of British strategic needs.

The Foreign Minister of Greece, Stephanos Stephanopoulos, supported the solution of the Cyprus problem through the application of the principle of self-determination to the island.

Zorlou, Foreign Minister of Turkey, did not put forward the demand that Cyprus should be ceded to Turkey, but said that his government was content with the international status existing on the island.¹⁰²

A telegram sent by Butterworth, the U.S. ambassador to London, to the Secretary of State of his country John Foster Dulles on 2 September 1955, was very illuminating on the positions held by the representatives of the three countries taking part in the London Tripartite Conference. It read as follows:

"There follows a summary of the official communiqué which was issued on 2 September in relation to the conference on Cyprus.

Explaining the view of H.M. Government, Macmillan stressed the primary responsibilities of the three countries towards their partners and noted that the differences regarding Cyprus threatened the harmony among the Allies. Historically, all three countries had a

101. "The complete works of Archbishop Makarios III of Cyprus," vol. 2, p. 588.

102. Leontios Ierodiakonou, "The Cyprus problem," pp. 100-123.

special interest in Cyprus, but Cyprus was now unquestionably under British sovereignty. Cyprus is of vital importance to the defence obligations of the United Kingdom and the United Kingdom does not need only a "base", but occupation and use of the whole of Cyprus. The role of Britain is to maintain law and order in Cyprus and promote self-government, which violence had prevented. Britain would not abandon its interests and responsibilities, but was hoping to reconcile views through a friendly discussion.

The Greek Foreign Minister said that Greece recognizes the defence obligations of Britain in the Middle East and stressed that the value of Cyprus for Britain would be enhanced, if the desire of the Cypriots for self-determination were satisfied. 'The only effort of the Greek Government is to secure for the Cypriot people the right of self-determination within a reasonable short period of time, during which Cyprus would acquire self-government.' Greece renounces violence and if Cyprus became Greek, Greece would guarantee the bases of the United Kingdom and satisfy the Turks in respect of the Turkish minority on the island.

The Turkish Foreign Minister said that the administration of Cyprus had been transferred to the United Kingdom under the term that the United Kingdom would help Turkey in the event of Russian attack. With the Treaty of Lausanne, Britain acquired sovereignty over Cyprus and its inhabitants were given the choice of British or Turkish nationality. Cyprus was an issue concerning only Turkey and Britain and all who signed the Treaty recognized this. Any attempt to change the status of the island amounted to seeking the amendment of the Treaty. Turkey considers the "Cyprus problem" to be an internal affair of Britain, and if any question arises of changing its status, it should be returned to Turkey. Cyprus is an extension of the Anatolian landmass and is economically connected to it. Cyprus controls the southern Turkish ports and is of vital importance to the defence of Turkey. It is imperative that the island should belong to Turkey or to a state that is very much interested in the fate of Turkey's eastern neighbours. Although a noble idea, the principle of self-determination 'must not be allowed to become an

element of injustice, insecurity and disturbance. Furthermore, Turkey is not opposed to self-government, but its elusive application must not be allowed to cause trouble.' Cyprus needs peace and tranquility. The clergy must stay outside politics. The guiding principle for self-government should be the granting of full equality to both the Greek and Turkish inhabitants of the island.

The full text is being sent by diplomatic dispatch.

BUTTERWORTH."

In respect of the positions held at the Conference by Macmillan and Zorlou, it is worth making the following brief comment:

1) The positions of these two Foreign Ministers were motivated by the interests of their countries and clashed with the principle of self-determination, which was universally accepted, having been solemnly proclaimed on 16 December 1952 by the General Assembly of the United Nations, of which both Britain and Turkey were members.

2) Both Turkey and Britain came to Cyprus as conquerors, keeping the island subjugated for many years against the will of its people. The Cypriot people expressed its true will through the plebiscite of 15th January 1950.

The fact that Britain was not prepared to grant the right of self-determination to the Cypriots was clearly manifest in the telegram the U.S. ambassador in London sent to the State Department of his country on 7 September 1955, last day of the Tripartite Conference. An excerpt from it is the following:

"During the meeting Zorlou asked Macmillan if the United Kingdom under any circumstances believed in self-determination, to which question Macmillan answered that this was essentially one of the basic principles shaping British policy, but that a dominant principle was not necessary under any circumstances. He mentioned by way of example that he had recently participated in the completion of a treaty in Vienna, which had particularly denied Austria the right to self-determination, because peace on the question of Austria's annexation by Nazi Germany was more important than the right of

self-determination for six million Austrians. I imagine that improvisations on this issue will be numerous in the days to come.

BUTTERWORTH." ¹⁰³

The General Secretary of the Cyprus Ethnarchy, Nikos Kranidiotis, who had been sent to London to follow the deliberations of the Tripartite Conference as an observer, wrote the following in a report to Archbishop Makarios:

*"Britain organized the Tripartite Conference with the specific objective of portraying Turkey at the international level as an indispensable factor for the solution of the Cyprus problem, to present Greece and Turkey as quarrelling over Cyprus and so to undertake herself the role of the magnanimous mediator and ultimate regulator of the whole affair."*¹⁰⁴

The Tripartite Conference ended in failure. No agreement was reached because of the different opinions held.

For Cyprus and Hellenism in general the results were disastrous. With the Tripartite Conference Turkey was officially introduced as an interested party in the solution of the Cyprus problem. Great Britain exploited this in the later discussions about Cyprus as well as at the U.N. and continued to use it as a serious argument for not satisfying the demand of the Cypriot people for self-determination.

The pogrom of the Turkish mob in Constantinople and Smyrna

On 6 September 1955, while the Tripartite Conference was still going on, the Greeks of Constantinople and Smyrna suffered an irreversible blow by the rampaging Turkish mob. The events clearly showed that the Turks had planned everything in order to justify the murders and outrages that took place.

¹⁰³.The telegrams became known through a research by Elias Vlantou in the USA archives concerning the Anti-colonial Struggle of Cyprus.

¹⁰⁴. General George Grivas-Dighenis, "Memoirs..." p. 53.

Dighenis wrote in his Memoirs:

"At 0.10h on 5-6 September 1955 a fuse bomb exploded by order of official Turkey in the yard of the Turkish Consulate in Salonica, between the buildings of the Consulate and the house of Ataturk, resulting in a few panes of doors and windows being shattered and scattered in the yard, without causing any other damage. At the time of the explosion only the Turkish warden of the Consulate was inside. The Authorities that arrived immediately on the spot determined that it was a satanic Turkish act.

The Ministry of Northern Greece interpreted this action as the signal for a pogrom against the Greeks of Constantinople. At exactly the same time the Turkish newspapers that were rolling off the press, using photographic films supplied by the wife of the Turkish Consul, falsely presented the house of Ataturk as having been blown up and lying in ruins. In this way, the pretext had been fully fabricated for the torching of the Greek Consulate in Smyrna that followed in a few hours, the looting of the properties of the Greek Officers of NATO and the events of unprecedented savagery and barbarity that took place in Constantinople.

In Constantinople, the organized Turkish mob, fanatical to the point of hysteria, raging and unbridled burned and plundered everything Greek from the early hours of the afternoon until late into the night of 6 September. Almost all of the Orthodox churches were destroyed, with only 6 remaining out of 83. The Theological School at Chalki, the Great School of the Nation, the historical monastery of Valoukli, the Zappeion School for Girls and the Church of the Holy Trinity, suffered complete destruction. Around 2,500 Greek shops were also destroyed. Two Bishops and a multitude of priests were wounded. Twenty members of the Greek community were killed and thousands more were badly beaten" (pp. 57-58)

The above events led to greater tension in the relations between Greece and Turkey and exacerbated the situation in Cyprus.

On 20 September 1955, on the occasion of a pan-Hellenic protest about the events in Constantinople and Smyrna against the Greeks, the Ethnarch Makarios addressed a message to the Greek people, by

which he condemned the atrocities and vandalisms of the Turkish mob and expressed sympathy on behalf of all the Cypriot people. In his message he added:

*"We shall always behave with friendly sentiments towards the Turkish element in Cyprus. We shall not turn our conflict with the English into a conflict with the Turks, allowing the English to play referee."*¹⁰⁵

To round off the subject of the Turkish pogrom of 6th September, it must be said that the then Prime Minister Adnan Menderes and the then Foreign Minister Fatin Zorlou were later accused of official corruption and many other specific unlawful acts, including the brutalities of 6th September and the explosion in the yard of the Turkish Consulate in Salonica on the night between 5 and 6 September. They were both sentenced to death in 1961 and executed.

The 10th Session of the U.N. General Assembly and the negative resolution on Cyprus-Protest demonstrations in Cyprus.

On 20 September 1955, the 10th Session of the U.N. General Assembly began its deliberations. On 21st September, the 15-member General Committee examined the appeal of Greece for the solution of the Cyprus problem based on the principle of self-determination. The Committee decided by majority not to include the Cyprus problem on the agenda. The seven countries that voted against the Greek recourse were Britain, the U.S.A., France, New Zealand, Luxembourg, Chile and Norway. Four countries voted in favour and four abstained. The English, the Americans and the Turks had created a hostile climate towards the Greek positions. The English in particular had argued that there was ground for inter-allied discussions to bring about a peaceful solution of the Cyprus problem.

Following the above decision of the Committee, Archbishop Makarios said in a statement on 22 September:

105. "The complete works of Archbishop Makarios III of Cyprus," vol. 2, pp. 81-82.

"The majority decision of the General Committee of the United Nations not to inscribe the Cyprus issue on the agenda has been received in Cyprus with feelings of great bitterness. Yet once more, amoral transactions and unholy interests dictated the abuse of morality and justice. A play unsurpassed in the art of hypocrisy was staged on the international scene at the expense of the Cypriot people, and even more at the expense of the prestige of the United Nations. But since English diplomacy has succeeded in blocking the peaceful and legitimate way of the Cypriots towards the United Nations, to what direction is it forcing the Cypriot people to turn? There remains open the way to tripartite discussions, the British Minister of State in the Foreign Office Anthony Nutting has stated. In other words, they are asking us to hear for many a time a repetition of what has been said at the London Tripartite Conference, that the principle of self-determination cannot be applied to Cyprus."

The Archbishop concluded his statement as follows:

*"The Cypriot people, despite the bitterness it is tasting, will continue its struggle. Soon we shall invite the Cypriot people to new challenges of passive resistance. No adversity can break our resistance, to the contrary they strengthen our will to fight until our right prevails."*¹⁰⁶

The U.N. General Assembly on 23 September also discussed the inscription of the Cyprus problem, again with a negative result. A number of 28 countries voted against the appeal and 22 in favour. Ten countries abstained.

Following the decision of the General Assembly, the members of the Ethnarchy Council decided as a first measure of reaction to approve the resignation of the local authorities and considered other measures of passive resistance.

Militant demonstrations were held in all the towns of Cyprus. In

106. "The complete works of Archbishop Makarios III of Cyprus," vol. 2, pp. 261-263

the demonstration in Limassol on 27 September, the English shot and killed the 16-year old Andreas Georgiou.

On 29 September, a 24-hour island-wide strike was held and more massive demonstrations took place in the towns and in many villages.

The appointment of a new Cyprus Governor

The events of September 1955 coincided with the decision of the British Government to replace Governor Armitage. The name of the new Governor of Cyprus was announced on 25 September: Sir John Harding.

CHAPTER 4

HARDING STRIVES TO SUPPRESS THE EOKA MOVEMENT AND GIVE A POLITICAL SOLUTION TO THE CYPRUS PROBLEM BUT WITHOUT SUCCESS - ARCHBISHOP MAKARIOS IS EXILED TO THE SEYCHELLES

(3 October 1955 - 9 March 1956)

Immediately after his arrival in Cyprus, Harding began talks with Archbishop Makarios in search of a solution to the Cyprus problem. He offered the Cypriot people self-government, but the Archbishop insisted on a solution that would secure for the people the right to self-determination. The disagreement between the two men led to the Archbishop's exile to the Seychelles.

Harding towed a hard line in order to break up EOKA and on 26 November he declared a state of emergency in Cyprus. The new rules provided for severe penalties to offenders. EOKA continued its activity undaunted, delivering hard blows to the occupation forces.

1. HARDING AND HIS POLICY

Harding arrived in Cyprus on 3 October and assumed his duties immediately. He had previously served in Malaysia, Kenya and Germany. In Britain he had been appointed to top military positions, having reached the rank of Army Commander of the Imperial Chief of Staff. According to the British Prime Minister Anthony Eden, he presented "*a rare sample of military and diplomatic qualifications.*"

His basic aims were: 1) to crush EOKA and impose law and order. 2) to start talks with Archbishop Makarios for a political settlement of the Cyprus problem. He failed on both counts.

The main reasons for his failure were:

1) He believed that he could defeat and dissolve EOKA through military operations. EOKA, however, was composed of people who had absolute faith in the value of liberty and were ready to undergo any sacrifice for it. Besides, the entire people of Cyprus embraced the EOKA struggle and gave every help and support to the fighters. Might and dire force yield opposite results in such cases. Harding employed barbaric means, outlawed not only by the unwritten moral rules, but also by international declarations and agreements, which have been adopted for the safeguarding of human rights.

2) He saw the political solution of the Cyprus problem in the light of securing the interests of Great Britain and not of rendering justice to a people, as the moral principles and international documents dictated, which Great Britain had also signed.

The events that followed confirmed these views.

On the day Harding arrived in Cyprus, Archbishop Makarios declared in a speech at the Trachoni village of Kythrea:

*"The Cypriots are not afraid of any measures, which the foreign Governor might take. They will continue to defy military measures and force until the day when freedom shall reign over Cyprus."*¹⁰⁷

2. THE TALKS BETWEEN HARDING AND ARCHBISHOP MAKARIOS

The talks in October 1955

The talks between Harding and Archbishop Makarios began on 4 October 1955. Their respective positions were very far apart. Harding wanted to discuss constitutional proposals for self-government in Cyprus on the basis of the proposals the British Government had advanced in London.

Harding's positions did not meet with the approval of the British Labour Party, the Executive Committee of which called on the Conservative Government in a resolution dated 29 September 1955 "to

107. P. Papademetris - P. Petrides, "Historical Encyclopedia of Cyprus (1878-1978)", volume 11, p. 45.

provide a firm guarantee for democratic self-determination within an agreed period of time with guarantees for the rights of the minority."

Archbishop Makarios approved the Labour Party's positions and on 4 October he sent a telegram to the party leader Clement Attlee in which he said:

*"If the Conservative Government ultimately shows good will we believe that, on the basis of your resolution, all the necessary requirements will be fulfilled for the pacification of Cyprus and the conduct of friendly negotiations on the details of the issue."*¹⁰⁸

The talks of Archbishop Makarios and Harding were held in three sessions, from 4 to 11 October and resulted in failure. On 12 October, the Archbishop told a press conference at the Archbishopric:

"We willingly accepted the invitation of His Excellency the Governor Sir John Harding for talks on the political future of Cyprus, in the hope that we would converge on a position providing ground for the discussion and solution of the Cyprus problem."

Such basis was primarily for us the recognition of the right of self-determination for the Cyprus people.

On our first meeting, we took care to inform the Governor about the real situation in Cyprus and of the sincere feelings and aspirations of the Greek Cypriot people. His Excellency, having expressed his views on the various aspects of the Cyprus problem, proposed as a solution the acceptance on the part of the Cypriots of a constitution, leading towards self-government, on the basis of a plan, which the Foreign Secretary Mr. Macmillan had sketched during the Tripartite Conference in London. We replied to His Excellency that the Cypriot people had already deemed this plan as unacceptable.

In order to show all our goodwill and to facilitate an understanding, we submitted to His Excellency a specific plan, by which we defined the recognition of the right of self-determination of the Cypriot people as the firm basis for the solution of the Cyprus prob-

108. "The complete works of Archbishop Makarios III of Cyprus," volume 2, p. 264.

lem. Following such recognition – we stipulated in the plan – we would be prepared to proceed to a cooperation with the British Government in order to work out a constitution for self-government, which would function on the island during the transitional period, from the recognition of the principle of self-determination until its implementation. The starting time for self-determination would be regulated between the British Government and representatives of the Cypriot people that would be elected on the basis of the aforementioned constitution.

His Excellency informed us that he was not authorized to discuss any other proposal outside the Macmillan plan, but he was willing to convey to the British Government any observations and suggestions we might have.

His Excellency indeed passed these our views on to London and three days later he invited us to a second meeting to inform us of the British Government's answer.

Accordingly, he conveyed to us that Her Majesty's Government rejected our proposals and insisted on the constitutional plan for Cyprus, announced by Mr. Macmillan on the 6th of September last.

At the third meeting which took place yesterday, we informed His Excellency the Governor that we did not accept the well-known and already rejected by the Cypriot people intransigent proposals and that we could only discuss the issue again on the basis of self-determination.

We sincerely regret that our talks with His Excellency the Governor have not led to an agreement. We realize that the consequences of not having reached an agreement are not pleasant either for Her Majesty's Government or for the Cypriot people. But we have a clear conscience, because we are certain that we are not to blame for this."¹⁰⁹

109. "The complete works of Archbishop Makarios III of Cyprus," volume 2, pp. 268-270.

Harding visits London

and Archbishop Makarios visits Athens

On 30 October Harding went to London, where he held successive meetings with the Prime Minister Anthony Eden, the Foreign Secretary Harold Macmillan and other members of the British Government on the solution of the Cyprus problem. He returned to Cyprus on 12 November. At Nicosia airport he made the following statement:

*"Our problems are being examined seriously and everybody is interested to find a solution that will satisfy all the demands. The Cyprus issue is not an isolated one and should therefore be considered in relation to the situation and the strategic problems of the Middle East."*¹¹⁰

On 31st October, Archbishop Makarios arrived in Athens for talks with the Greek Government on the Cyprus problem. Immediately after his arrival he addressed a message to the Greek people, thanking them for their full support to the struggle of Cyprus and informing them about the situation on the island. An extract from his address is the following:

*"Our visit takes place at a time when the intensified Cypriot struggle is going through one of its most crucial stages. British intransigence has created intolerable living conditions on the island. The freedom of man and of the citizen has in fact been abolished. The Cypriot people live under the constant threat of a military regime of terrorism and violence. The ideal of freedom is being persecuted as a crime. The Greek Cypriots are being oppressed, imprisoned or shot by the British rulers, because they serve precisely those ideals for the sake of which they were called upon fifteen years ago to fight and sacrifice themselves."*¹¹¹

110. Nikos Kranidiotis, "Difficult years...", p.120.

111. "The complete works of Archbishop Makarios III of Cyprus," vol. 2, pp. 106-107.

New talks between Harding and Archbishop Makarios

The talks between Archbishop Makarios and Governor Harding for the solution of the Cyprus problem that had been interrupted on 11 October were resumed on 21 November 1955. Harding handed the following document to the Archbishop:

*"Her Majesty's Government shares in the principles which have been incorporated in the Charter of the United Nations, the Potomac Charter and the Charter of the Pacific, to which it is a signatory. It is not, therefore, the position of the British Government that the principle of self-determination can never be applied to Cyprus. Its view is that this principle is not a proposal that can be applied now, both on account of the present strategic situation and the consequences that it will have on the relations between the powers of the North Atlantic Treaty in the Eastern Mediterranean. Therefore, the Government must be satisfied that any final solution safeguards the strategic interests of the United Kingdom and its allies. Her Majesty's Government has now offered measures of broad self-government. Should the Cypriot people participate in the constitutional development, Her Majesty's Government is prepared to work towards a final settlement, which would satisfy the aspirations of the Cypriot people, in the framework of the treaties and alliances to which the countries interested in the defence of the Eastern Mediterranean are parties. Her Majesty's Government would be prepared to discuss the future of Cyprus with representatives of the Cyprus people, when self-government proves to be a proposal capable of functioning satisfactorily and able to safeguard the interests of all the sections of the community."*¹¹²

The Archbishop insisted on the application of the inalienable right of self-determination for the Cypriot people and gave this answer to Harding:

"I am very sorry. I cannot accept your proposals. I cannot make the self-determination of the Cypriot people dependent upon the strategic needs of Great Britain and cannot accept that any treaties

112. "The complete works of Archbishop Makarios III of Cyprus," vol.2, p. 621.

*or other obligations of Great Britain can possibly affect, in any way, the application of the inalienable right of self-determination to the Cypriot people."*¹¹³

Harding did not expect such an answer from the Archbishop and, evidently annoyed, he said: *"I am sorry, I am sorry about what you are doing."* He saluted coldly and left.

With the above meeting the talks ended in failure. Each side remained entrenched in their positions and no agreement could ensue.

It must be mentioned that prior to the talks between Harding and Archbishop Makarios, the British Government had conferred with the Turkish Government.

Christophis Economides wrote in his book "The demystified history of the Cyprus problem in the last 50 years":

"Here are two of the many proofs that exist in the classified archives of the Colonial and Foreign Ministries on this issue:

1. *The following are mentioned in a memorandum, which the Director of the Foreign Ministry's Desk for South European Affairs prepared on 30.11.55 for his Minister, who was due to see the Greek Ambassador in London Mr. Mostras that day:*

"We have not told the Greek Government that we have shown the Turkish Government the text of the proposals, which Harding has submitted to Makarios on 21.11.55" (File FO371/117678 RG 1081/1702).

2. *In another memorandum dated 4.1.56 on the occasion of the British Foreign Secretary's scheduled meeting with the Turkish Ambassador in London, the following are mentioned:*

"Possible questions by the Turkish Government on Cyprus:

1. *Has there been a change in the policy of the British Government?*

Answer: No. As the British Prime Minister has told Mr. Menderes in his message of 11 November, the formula of Harding's proposal to Makarios is a repetition and not a change of our position. That formula has not changed (except from a modification of the word-

113. Nikos Kranidiotis, "Difficult years...", pp. 134-135.

ing for the sake of clarity, about which the Turkish Government has already been informed)" (File FO371/123864 RG 1081/22).¹¹⁴

The resumption of talks between Harding and Archbishop Makarios

On 9 January 1956, the talks for a solution to the Cyprus problem were resumed between Harding and Archbishop Makarios at the house of the Anglican Archdeacon Atney. Harding proposed a new text to the Archbishop containing a somewhat improved version of the proposals of 21 November 1955. The Archbishop did not reject the new plan, but stated his reservations. According to a Public Information Office release, the Governor and the Archbishop "having exchanged views on the political and constitutional future of Cyprus, agreed to meet again soon for further talks."

The new meeting took place again at Archdeacon Atney's house on 13 January 1956 but no agreement was reached. The two men "agreed to meet again very soon for further discussions." The Archbishop has written about that meeting:

*"Harding really wanted us to reach a solution. The negotiations with him have been painstaking. I insisted uncompromisingly on the point that I regarded as fundamental. He refused and resisted and often our meetings ended in disagreement. But at the next meeting, Harding accepted what he had denied during the previous one. In this way I always got something out of him. The negotiations continued slowly but steadily."*¹¹⁵

On 18 January, Harding left for London to discuss the observations of the Archbishop with the British Government. A press release by the Public Information Office said:

"The purpose for His Excellency's visit to London was clearly set out in his statement. This visit is yet another proof of the determi-

114. Christofis Economides "The demystified history of the Cyprus problem in the last 50 years," Nicosia 1993, p. 33.

115. Nikos Kranidiotis, "Difficult years...", p.151.

*nation by H. E. the Governor not to leave a stone unturned in achieving a solution that will satisfy all the interested parties."*¹¹⁶

Harding returned to London on 26 January and the next day he met with the Archbishop, again at the house of the Anglican Archdeacon. In this meeting the Governor referred to the results of his talks in London and to the final form of the British Government's proposals for a political settlement of the Cyprus problem. If the Archbishop were to agree, the British Government would proceed to make an official statement on the issue.

Harding sent the latest proposals of the British Government in writing to Archbishop Makarios, asking him to give a 'yes' or 'no' answer if he accepted them. The proposals were the following:

"Her Majesty's Government shares in the principles, which have been incorporated to the Charter of the United Nations, the Charter of Potomac and the Atlantic Charter, to which it is a signatory. It is not, therefore, the position of the British Government that the principle of self-determination can never be applied to Cyprus. Its view is that this principle is not a proposal that could be applied now, because of the existing situation in the Eastern Mediterranean."

Her Majesty's Government has now offered measures of broad self-government. If the Cypriot people should participate in the constitutional development, Her Majesty's Government would be prepared to work for a definite solution, which would satisfy the aspirations of the Cypriot people, conform to the strategic interests of Her Majesty's Government and those of her allies and take into consideration the existing alliances, to which Her Majesty's Government is a party.

*Her Majesty's Government will be prepared to discuss the future of the island with representatives of the Cypriot people, when self-government proves capable of safeguarding the interests of all the sections of the community."*¹¹⁷

116. "The complete works of Archbishop Makarios III of Cyprus," vol. 2, p. 147

117. "The complete works of Archbishop Makarios III of Cyprus," vol.2, p.720.

The above proposals were sent with an accompanying letter and a "Draft Statement," which the Archbishop had to sign if he agreed to everything.

On 29 January, the Archbishop asked Dighenis of his opinion about Harding's proposal. The two men had a secret meeting at the Kykko monastery. The EOKA leader made his way there through the mountains of the area, accompanied by guerrillas, in a violent snow-storm. After he was briefed, he expressed serious misgivings about Harding's proposals.

On 30 January the Ethnarchy Council met on the same issue. Disagreements were voiced during the discussion.

On 2 February, the Archbishop sent Harding a letter, requesting clarifications on the content of the "measures of broad self-government" proposed by the British Government. He also formulated the general framework of the future constitution for Cyprus, with a view to establishing a regime of genuine self-government.

Among other things Archbishop Makarios wrote to Harding the following:

"The text of the Statement, which the Government of Her Britannic Majesty envisages to make, is not satisfactory to the Greek Cypriot people, whose claim is self-determination."

The following extracts are given from the general outlines of the future constitution proposed by Archbishop Makarios:

a) *"All legislative, executive and judicial powers, save those expressly excluded, shall derive from the Cypriot people and be exercised by it through its elected representatives and other organs."*

b) *"The responsibilities for Defence and Foreign Affairs relations of the Island shall be excluded from the above principle, remaining in the competence of the Governor, as the representative of Her Britannic Majesty's."*

c) *"Parliamentary representation shall be proportional to the composition of the population. In all other matters, there shall be absolute equality of the citizens and everybody may be appointed to any post."*

Regarding the pacification of Cyprus, the Archbishop stated that

"all emergency military measures and emergency laws must be lifted and an amnesty be offered for all political offences."¹¹⁸

Harding replied to the Archbishop's document on 14 February, stating:

"The form of any constitution should proceed from detailed discussions with the representatives of all the communities. This, of course, does not exclude private discussions, which will undoubtedly be of great benefit, but cannot be a substitute for any meetings on how the daily lives of all the Cypriots should be governed."

The Governor further stressed that:

*"Her Majesty's Government is now offering wide measures of democratic self-government. To this end a new liberal constitution should be worked out in consultation with all sections of the community."*¹¹⁹

These positions of the British Government, advanced and supported by Harding, were not satisfactory to Archbishop Makarios as defender of the rights of the Greek Cypriot people. For this reason, he rejected them by a letter to the Governor dated 25 February 1956. Makarios noted in the last paragraph of this letter:

*"In conclusion, we must emphasize that in our desire for the island to live through a peaceful period until the time of applying self-determination, we made every possible concession, beyond which our national conscience and dignity does not allow us to proceed."*¹²⁰

The last meeting between the Archbishop and Harding took place on 29 February.

The British Colonial Secretary, Lennox-Boyd, and the Assistant Under-Secretary, Sir John Martin, participated. Again no result was achieved.

Harding's confession in 1984 revealed how sincere the British

118. "The complete works of Archbishop Makarios III of Cyprus," vol. 2, pp 153-154.

119. "The complete works of Archbishop Makarios III of Cyprus," vol. 2, p.727.

120. "The complete works of Archbishop Makarios III of Cyprus," vol. 2, p.156.



The talks between Archbishop Makarios and Harding ended in failure, a fact that led the British Government to exile the Archbishop.

Government was when it stated that it recognized the principle of self-determination for Cyprus:

"This was a bait to convince Makarios to accept self-government."¹²¹

Following the failure of the talks, the Archbishop called a press conference on 6 March, at which he said that the British Government had not shown goodwill in finding a basis for a reasonable agreement and that it had maintained an intransigent stance on the vital issue of giving amnesty to the fighters. The following extract from his statement is a characteristic one:

"In short, the Cypriot people were called upon to accept a regime under which it would be doubtful if they could control their own

121. Christophes Ecoomides, "The demystified history of the Cyprus problem in the last 50 years," p.34.

parliament and on whose basis it was certain that the sovereign colonial Power could indefinitely intervene in everything, under the pretext of 'public security.' But such a regime would be unacceptable even to peoples who just left the state of primitiveness, and proposing it, even as an interim stage, would make a mockery of us, who have proved the high liberal ideals in which we believe, being the first to have proposed every possible constitutional guarantee and protection for the Turkish minority, with which we desire to live always in peace."

The Archbishop concluded his statement as follows:

"In no case shall we lower the standard of self-determination. We shall fight to the end, resisting passively the unlawful rule of our oppressor on the island, claiming our right internationally from the rampart of the United Nations, where the Greek Government shall in the near future inscribe the issue, and in general we shall omit nothing in seeking satisfaction for our sacred national demand."¹²²

3. EOKA IN ACTION - HARDING DECLARES A STATE OF EMERGENCY IN CYPRUS

The situation in Cyprus in October 1955

On 4 October, a five-member team headed by Gregoris Afxentiou attacked the police station at Lefkoniko and made away with 11 guns.

On 20 October, an eight-member team from Famagusta raided a military depot and took 16 guns of various types. Leading the attack was Andreas Demetriou, later one of the martyrs at the gallows.

The interruption of the talks between Harding and Makarios exacerbated the situation in Cyprus. The English army was reinforced, the searches for the discovery of EOKA fighters and weapons were intensified, curfews in towns and villages became regular. The celebrations for the national anniversary of 28th October were banned

122. "The complete works of Archbishop Makarios III of Cyprus," vol. 2, pp. 313-315.

and the first death sentence was passed against the fighter Michalakis Karaoles, who had been charged for the murder of police constable Herodotos Poullis, an English collaborator, on 28 August 1955.

Archbishop Makarios, in a message to the Greek Cypriot people on the occasion of the 28th October anniversary, said among other things:

"Fifteen years have passed since then! And Greece again finds itself on the fighting ramparts for the defence of those same ideals, which this time are being trampled upon by our old friends and allies. The goods of freedom and justice, for the safeguarding of which the Greek world has twice in fifteen years offered itself to sacrifice and holocaust, are today violated and despised by the British in Cyprus."

But the Greek Cypriot people – an integral part of the Greek World, inspired by the same principles and the same ideals which fifteen years ago arrayed the Nation at the vanguard of world freedom – pronounces yet once again the heroic 'Ochi' (Trans. note: Greek word for 'No', by which Greece rejected the fascist ultimatum in 1940) to the powers of evil and violence. The spirit of the liberation struggle which is being waged this moment in Cyprus, is not alien to the spirit of the great day we are celebrating today...

*Greek liberty is tested today in the person of the Cypriot people. Let the moral command of 28th October rule in every Greek soul. And let every Greek do his duty."*¹²³

Dighenis ordered celebrations to be held for the national anniversary of 28th October, despite their being banned by the authorities. The people participated in the national celebration, because they felt they had a moral duty to honour the day on which Greece stood on the side of the English against Fascism and Nazism. But as the celebrations had been prohibited, bloody clashes ensued between the people and the security forces and arrests were made.

123. "The complete works of Archbishop Makarios III of Cyprus," vol. 2, pp. 96-97.

Dighenis wrote about those clashes:

"Celebrating people were shot at in the town of Morphou and three young men were wounded, one of them seriously. In Varosha more than a thousand people were arrested during bloody clashes. In Nicosia, Ledra Street and Metaxas Square became the scenes of serious bloody clashes. Despite all this, our people maintained their high morale, while the British army showed conspicuous signs of retreat and the police disappeared from the scene."^{123a}

Apart from the military measures the English were using to put down the power of EOKA, they also resorted to dirty propaganda. In October 1955 they disseminated an anonymous leaflet, in which they compared the economic data between Greece and Cyprus, to show that the latter enjoyed a higher standard of living.

Archbishop Makarios replied to the derogatory remarks about Greece with a written statement on 29 October 1955: He began as follows:

"The Government, in its vain attempt to alter the national morale of the Greek people, has started to avail itself of propaganda means, the pettiness of which vies with naivety."

And he went on:

"It is truly to wonder at the insistence of those ruling Cyprus not to convince themselves that the struggle of the Greek Cypriot people is totally strange to financial motives. And we wonder indeed, because we are certain that the British would not accept to change their national identity and become a colony of another people, however richer the latter might be and able to provide them with a higher standard of living."

The answer ended as follows:

"Our rulers use violence to prevent Hellenic Cyprus from uniting with the Free Motherland. Let them at least have the courage of crude oppressors and stop showing a hypocritical interest in our prosperity. Furthermore, the English must know that we Greeks are

123a. General Grivas-Digenis "Memoirs...", p. 68.

not used to placing our freedom in the scales, in order to weigh it against financial calculations."¹²⁴

EOKA activity in November 1955- The reaction of the Government

Dighenis decided to deliver strong blows to the English oppressor during November 1955 with a plan he codenamed "Towards victory." He moved from Kakopetria where he was staying, to the Kyperounda area, in order to be with the guerrilla group that would operate under his plan. Strong task forces and teams of saboteurs were already operating effectively in the towns. Casualties among the English soldiers and material damage in military installations, police stations and other public buildings were on the increase. The militant school protests were causing serious problems for the security forces. The guerrilla groups were in parallel action.

On 18 November 1955, the guerrilla group of the Pitsilia region led by section commander Renos Kyriakides attacked the garrison at Mitsero mine, guarded by 12 soldiers since 23 September. The battle lasted 15 minutes and left dead and wounded among the soldiers. Renos Kyriakides was slightly injured.

In the night of 21st to 22nd November, the Pitsilia guerrilla team attacked the 12-member military garrison at Amiandos mine under torrential rain and put them out of action.

On 23 November, the same guerrilla team again went into action, this time under the personal command of Dighenis on the road from Kyperounda to Chandria. They ambushed two armoured vehicles, one of which was hit and fell down a cliff. The outcome was two English dead and two wounded. EOKA took two automatic weapons and suffered no casualties. All EOKA members withdrew to hideouts in the Spilia area. This ambush became known as the battle of the Pine.

¹²⁴. "The complete works of Archbishop Makarios III of Cyprus," vol. 2, pp. 98-100.



The headquarters of EOKA at Kyperounda

In November the Government took the following measures to counter EOKA:

a) Special courts operating under a special law since 2 November 1955, meted out heavy sentences to the freedom fighters.

b) Police Commissioner Robins by a proclamation on 12 November 1955 announced the offer of a 5.000 pound reward to anyone who would provide information leading to the arrest of persons involved in violent terrorist acts or the discovery of illegal arms, ammunition and explosives. The proclamation included the names of 15 persons sought by the police as terrorists. They were all members of EOKA, among them Gregoris Afxentiou, Stylianos Lenas, Charalambos Mouskos, Markos Drakos, Lambros Kavkalides.

c) On 15 November, Harding ordered the closure of the Samuel private secondary school in Nicosia and there followed on 19 November the closure of the Pancyprian Commercial Lyceum in Larnaca. The Government considered that these schools were being run "in way subversive to good administration and social order."

d) The English Director of Education warned in a circular that he would close down any elementary school flying a non-English flag.

e) On 26 November, Harding declared Cyprus to be in a state of emergency.

Cyprus in a state of emergency

In order to cope with the EOKA activity, Harding declared Cyprus to be in a state of emergency at 7 p.m. on 26 November 1955 and published the regulations he had prepared in a special edition of the Cyprus Official Gazette. The following is an extract from the official announcement:

"Some of the regulations shall be enforced by the Governor, when the circumstances so warrant. Among those taking immediate effect are the following:

"As of now it shall be an unlawful act, punishable by death, for any one to discharge a fire arm against any person or throw or place a bomb, or carry any fire arm, ammunition or other explosives without legal authorisation, and the burden of proof shall fall on the individual.

The possession of bombs without legal authorization and various acts of sabotage, which affect the communications, the electricity cables, the water supply and so forth, shall be unlawful acts, carrying the penalty of life imprisonment.

It shall be an illegal act to declare or induce others to participate in any strike, which is not related to a labour dispute.

he Governor has also proclaimed a general ban on holding any gatherings in the colony, with the exception of theatrical or cinematographic performances, as from tomorrow, 27th November. This declaration is not applicable in the case of religious services and ceremonies in churches and mosques. The Commissioners may, in their discretion, continue to issue licences for sport meetings."

The official announcement even mentioned details of these special regulations. Some extracts are the following.

a) *"Any police officer or any member of the armed forces may arrest without a warrant any person, whom he might have reasonable cause to suspect of having acted, or acting or being about to act in a*



Around 3.300 Cypriots were confined to detention camps during the Liberation Struggle.

way harmful to public security or public order or of having committed, being in the course of committing or about to commit an offence in violation of the Defence Regulations."

b) *"A District Commissioner may by decree prohibit a gathering or a parade of more than five persons.*

c) *"The Governor may prevent or curtail by decree the publication in the island of any material, which might be harmful to public security and order."*

d) *"The Governor may impose a curfew in any part of the Island and forbid any person from entering or leaving the Island."*

e) *"Illegal strikes are forbidden and the avoidance of other strikes and lock-outs is envisaged."*

f) *"The Governor or a person authorized by him may by decree terminate - if they believe this to be in the interest of public order and security - the term of any Municipal Council and to appoint a Municipal Committee, which shall have the authority to exercise the duties of the dismissed Municipal Council."*

g) "Regulation No 65 forbids the carrying, display or flying in any place or on any building of any flag, banner or similar emblem or thing."

h) "Any male person aged below 18, found guilty by any Court for the violation of the Defence Regulations, may be sentenced to the penalty of flogging, if the Court considers this appropriate."

i) "In the case where the committal of an offence, which in the opinion of the District Commissioner might be harmful to the internal security or the maintenance of law and order on the island, and as a result of which damage has been caused to property, it would be lawful for the District Commissioner to take, with the approval of the Governor, any of the following measures or all of them collectively: 1st, to order the imposition of a collective fine on the male inhabitants of the area where the offence has been committed, aged not below 18 years. 2nd, to order the closure of all the shops of the area or of any of them until the recall of the decree or to order the opening of the shops under conditions and at such time as specified by the decree. 3rd, to order the confiscation of the movable or immovable property of any inhabitant of the said area and 4th, to order that all or any of the houses of the said area be closed and remain closed and not available for human habitation for a specified time."¹²⁵

On 27 November 1955, Archbishop Makarios stated:

"The abnormal situation created in Cyprus is the mere symptom of another situation, that is, the insistence of the English to occupy and administer Cyprus against the will of its inhabitants.

To confront the anomaly created, the British Government has as

125. Proclamation by the Governor (John Harding) that the provisions of part II of the Emergency Powers in Council 1939, shall have effect in the colony as from the 26th November 1955: Page 715 (No 730) in Subsidiary legislation 1955. See "Album of Political Convicts 1955-1959." Published by the Association of Political Convicts EOKA 1955-1959, Nicosia 1955, p. 12, as well as "The complete works of Archbishop Makarios III of Cyprus," volume 2, pp. 622-628.

from yesterday declared a state of emergency throughout Cyprus. It has sought to break the national resistance of the Cypriot people and impose normalcy and order on the island through military measures.

*It is indeed regretful that the British Government entertains the notion that it is possible to solve the Cyprus problem through military measures. The problem cannot be solved in this way. To the contrary, it is rendered worse. And as long as it remains unsolved, neither normality nor order can be restored. There is only one and only proper solution: the self-determination of the Cyprus people."*¹²⁶

An EOKA ambush at the Red Lantern, between Amiandos and Troodos- The blowing up of the Electricity Authority sub-station at Karvounas

These two operations by EOKA took place on 5 December 1955. A team of seven fighters led by section commander Renos Kyriakides carried out the first one. They set the ambush at the Red Lantern locality, between Amiandos and Troodos. Using guns and grenades, the fighters attacked two military vehicles, one of which went downhill. The English suffered heavy casualties in dead and wounded. None of the fighters were hurt.

The battle took place in broad daylight.

A four-member EOKA team headed by Grigoris Afxentiou carried out the second operation. Two of the fighters kept watch, while the other two reached the front side of the station, having cut the barbed wire at the rear. The two Greek guards offered no resistance and handed over their shotguns. The guerillas then proceeded to place explosives, blowing up and destroying the electric transformer. The action resulted in a power cut in Amiandos and Troodos.

126. "The complete works of Archbishop Makarios III of Cyprus," volume 2, p. 292.

EOKA attacks the army camp at Ayios Amvrosios in Kyrenia district

At 10 p.m. on 6 December 1955, an EOKA team of 21 persons under the command of Thassos Sophocleous attacked the army camp at Ayios Amvrosios in the Kyrenia district. The EOKA men cut the wire fence of the camp and opened fire at the tents of the personnel with automatic rifles and grenades. The number of casualties was not known, but two ambulances heading from the Ayios Amvrosios camp towards Kyrenia revealed the success of EOKA. Next day the camp looked like a disaster area.

The battle near Spilia

On Sunday 11 December 1955 a sensational battle between English soldiers and EOKA guerrillas took place in the area of Spilia village. That day Dighenis with 12 of his men were in the Spilia retreat.

A thick fog covered the entire area of Spilia. At a certain moment, the guerrilla watch discerned military vehicles moving towards the village. They then moved away from Spilia to the crossroads leading to the villages of Kannavia-Lagoudera-Sanatorio. When Dighenis was briefed about this, he ordered a double watch to be set around the hideout. After noon a special guard informed the EOKA leader that the English troops had advanced towards a point where four mountain trails converged, one of which led to the EOKA retreat. It was an operation to flush out EOKA men, "terrorists" as the English used to call the freedom fighters of Cyprus.

Dighenis gave instructions to his men how to handle the English and how to get away in case they ran the risk of being cut off. He told Afxentiou to move ahead with three other fighters and act according to the situation at hand.

The four guerrillas took their positions. Afxentiou gave orders to his men to open fire at the English should they get too close. This they did at some point and Afxentiou immediately ordered retreat. Following Dighenis' orders, the four fighters headed towards a specified point.

Afxentiou suddenly changed his course and headed towards the

ravine which was situated on the right side to the hideouts. He told his men to press on and meet up with the Leader. He himself went downhill and saw two files of English troops climbing the hillsides on either side of the ravine. He immediately fired a few rounds with his automatic weapon at the one team of English soldiers and then at the other. The time was around 3 p.m. The English then started firing in the direction from where they were being attacked, with the result that they were hitting each other. The ravine and the mountain-sides echoed with the burst of fire. The self-inflicted attack left 15 soldiers dead and 35 wounded. All EOKA members escaped without a scratch.

The canning and bold manoeuvre by Afxentiou gave the chance to the Leader and his men to slip away and arrive at a safe place. Dighenis with three guerrillas reached the hideout of Gregoris Gregoras in Kakopetria. Eight others walked for 17 hours to get to Kalopanayiotis and from there to Phoeni. Afxentiou ended up in Kannavia, spending three nights in the village church. After that he undertook to regroup the Pitsilia section.¹²⁷

The movements of Dighenis between the 11th and 16th of December 1955

Following the battle near Spilia, Dighenis and his three companions ran serious risks because of the presence of English soldiers, the uneven terrain and treachery. During their march towards Kakopetria, an English soldier got only two metres from them, but they spotted him in time and quickly changed direction. The soldier fired at them but as it was already getting dark he missed. The EOKA leader wrote about the march of his small team that night:

"After this incident we continued our tiresome march over an uneven terrain, always in the direction of Kakopetria, with only the

127. General Grivas-Digenis, "Memoirs...", pp. 73-78, Charalambos Batarias "The second phase of the Spilia battle" in the "Anthology of texts for the EOKA Struggle 1955-1959," pp. 161-165, Published by the "Council for the Historical Memory of EOKA 1955-1959," 1998.



Dighenis visited the hideouts of Spilia after the Struggle was over.

polar star to guide us, as neither I nor any of the three men escorting me were familiar with the territory. The march was very laborious and in order not to be cut off from one another we used our hands to climb the steep faces of the mountains. With me were: Evagoras Papachristoforou, Charilaos Xenofontos and Lambros Kavkalides. Quite often we nearly fell to our death. The other team was well ahead of us and we had no contact with them. Despite our escape I could not feel at ease, as I realized that if the enemy acted wisely they could cut us off in that mountainous and forested area with the fast-moving mobile means at their disposal, so much so as we were obliged many times to cross the asphalt road of Kourdali-Evrychou, on account of its many windings in that part of the mountains. Fortunately for us, the enemy not only did not move from the direction of Kourdali-Spilia, but neither from the direction of Kakopetria, as they ought to have done using their concentration of forces there, in which case they would have certainly blocked us. So,

around 3 o'clock in the morning on 12th December, we reached the mountain ridges northeast of Kakopetria, where under rainfall and using only one mackintosh for cover I sat down to rest with my companions until daylight."^{127a}

From the northeastern summits of the Kakopetria area, Evagoras Papachristoforou went to Kakopetria village, where he made contact with EOKA members on 12 December. Dighenis and his three men got a supply of food from Kakopetria at 3 p.m., having eaten nothing since 11 December. In the same evening, the group took refuge in Kakopetria, where they stayed unhindered, despite there being about 150 English troops. In the next evening he moved under pounding rain to the hideout of Gregoris Gregoras in the Kakopetria area. On the night of 15 December, Dighenis with four other fighters came to an area to the southwest of Galata village. Following a treachery by a person from Kakopetria, about 1000 troops carried out searches in the early hours of 16 December without any success. The big convoy of military trucks then headed towards Evrychou, where a curfew was imposed and the village and the entire area were searched. The traitor of Dighenis was later executed in Limassol.

The Leader of EOKA later wrote about the hardships during those days:

"We ran a risk in every step we took during these movements, on account of inquisitive stares and paid informers, and also because we were often obliged to come very close to English soldiers as we traversed villages and roads. The so many adventures and hardships of the last days did not affect us at all, nor did they leave any sign of fatigue on us. One might say that a divine power protected and gave us new strength. In spite of my 58 years at the time, I never felt tired from those adventurous days. I had been constantly on the march for 12 hours in the midst of a strenuous and dangerous situation and following a battle, which had lasted from dawn to 15 h of

127a. General George Grivas - Digenis, "Memoirs...", p.77.

the 11th December. I then slept for 2-3 hours out in the open and under rain, pressing on again after that amid various dangers for another five days, and yet I did not feel either fatigue or disappointment. So, after a six-hour march and a sleep of about four hours, the morning of 16th December found me to be strong and capable of embarking on the preparation of a new hideaway and organizing new guerrilla groups, as well as immediately restoring full contact with the section commands and the guerilla groups in such a way as to be able to receive reports and issue orders by the same evening. And this has been the secret of our victory: I succeeded in having dedicated and loyal followers everywhere, ready to run anywhere regardless of risks and deliver my message within a few hours."¹²⁸

Harding takes measures against the leftists

In order to cause a sensation, Harding turned against AKEL, the communist party of Cyprus, as well as the leftist organizations affiliated with it. The two newspapers of the left, "New Democrat" and "Anexartitos" ("Independent"), were closed down. On the night of 13th December 1955 the security forces arrested leftist officials. On the next day, AKEL was outlawed together with the leftist organizations AON (Progressive Youth Organisation), EKA (Cypriot Farmers Union), and PODG (Pan-Cyprian Organisation of Democratic Women). PEO (Pan-Cyprian Labour Federation) was not outlawed. Harding explained this stance of his as follows:

*"The Government does not wish to disrupt the work of the legitimate trade union movement, which the Government recognizes as having an important role to play in promoting stability and prosperity on the island."*¹²⁹

Those arrested included Ezekias Papaioannou, Secretary General of AKEL, the Mayor of Limassol, Costas Partassides, the Mayor of

Larnaca, Georgios Christodoulides, members of the AKEL Executive Committee, editors of the mouthpiece of AKEL "New Democrat," and the director of the "Anexartitos" newspaper, Lyssandros Tsimilles.

The Cypriot Authorities put into circulation a leaflet to explain the outlawing of AKEL and of the leftist organizations which shared the same fate. They said in the leaflet:

"The reasons that have led the Governor of Cyprus, with the full approval and support of Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, to outlaw AKEL, which is in effect the Communist Party of Cyprus, and its satellite Organisations, are to be found in both the recent and previous history of communist subversive activities on the island."

*There is no doubt that the directorship of the Party and of its satellite Organisations has been in the hands of men and women fanatically dedicated to the cause of international communism."*¹³⁰

Archbishop Makarios condemned Harding's measures against the Left with the following statement to the press on 14 December:

"The English Government, continuing the application of illiberal measures in Cyprus, has outlawed a political party of the island and has arrested leading members of it. We unreservedly condemn this move by the English Government, regardless of the fundamental differences which separate us from those against whom this action is aimed."

We are of the opinion that an ideology can only be combated by another, better ideology and not by force."

In trying to explain their action the British claim, among other things, that the communists are an obstacle to the ongoing talks for the solution of the problem and present us as if we were ready to accept a solution of the Cyprus problem other than self-determination. Such an allegation is altogether unfounded, because, as we have repeatedly made clear, we shall accept no solution of the issue, as

128. General George Grivas-Dighenis "Memoirs...", p. 79.

129. P. Papademetris - P. Petrides, "Historical Encyclopedia of Cyprus (1878-1978)," volume 11, p. 50.

130. P. Papademetris - P. Petrides, "Historical Encyclopedia of Cyprus (1878-1978), volume 11, p. 51.

long as it does not safeguard the principle of self-determination in Cyprus."¹³¹

The school youth display their fighting spirit - The Lanitio Gymnasium of Limassol is shut down

The contribution of schoolboys and girls of secondary education to the EOKA Struggle has been significant. Many pupils of both sexes were EOKA members and served the Struggle in many and various ways. They formed the core of the militant protests organized by the youth leaders of EOKA. Fierce school demonstrations were frequent, strengthening the morale of the people and reinforcing significantly the fight of the guerrillas.

The students reacted actively to visits by English soldiers in an effort to prevent their demonstrations. In such a visit to the Lanitio Gymnasium of Limassol on 14 December 1955, the pupils responded with a hail of stones and the use of a grenade. The outcome was an English sergeant dead and two soldiers wounded. The Governor closed the school from 15 December 1955 until the end of the school year.

An EOKA ambush at the Mersinaki locality - The death of Charalambos Mouskos

On 15 December, a nine-member group of EOKA led by Markos Drakos ambushed an English military vehicle at the "Mersinaki" locality, situated near the archaeological site of Soloi. The shots by the EOKA fighters killed the co-driver, but in the battle that ensued the driver Major Brian Coombe shot and mortally wounded Charalambos Mouskos, a cousin to Archbishop Makarios. He was the first EOKA member to fall in the battlefield.

Two members of the guerrilla group, Charilaos Michael and Andreas Zakos, were arrested. Zakos was wounded and could not move.

¹³¹. "The complete works of Archbishop Makarios III of Cyprus," volume 2, pp 128-129.

They were later sentenced to death by hanging. Markos Drakos managed to escape with a head injury and continued his guerrilla activity.

The following dialogue in English took place between Major Coombe and Andreas Zakos while the former had his gun pointed at the three wounded guerrillas:

Zakos: One of my companions is dying (meaning Mouskos).

Coombe: My companion in the car has also been killed. Why are you shooting at us?

Zakos: I am a Greek fighting for the freedom of my country.

Coombe: We the British have fought for the liberation of Greece.

Zakos: And we have fought alone by your side, but you forgot your promises.^{131a}

Charalambos Mouskos (1932-1955) was one of the first five leaders of sabotage squads in Nicosia. His team took active part in the EOKA operations of 1st April 1955, when it attacked the Secretariat. He was later placed on the wanted list as a result of treachery, but he avoided arrest and joined the guerrillas in the Kykko area. The Government put a 5.000-pound reward on his head.

The funeral service for Charalambos Mouskos took place in the Phaneromeni Church of Nicosia. Pupils from the Pancyprian Gymnasium bore the coffin, draped with the Greek flag, on their shoulders in the procession to the cemetery.



Our people, with youth at the forefront, kneel and pay homage, bidding farewell to Charalambos Mouskos, who fell at Mersinaki on 15 December 1955.

^{131a}. Spyros Papageorgiou, "The Cyprus Tempest 1955-1959," p. 417.

Heading the funeral cortege were schoolboys and schoolgirls, holding Greek flags, wreaths and flowers. Patriotic songs, applause and slogans for the hero of the Cypriot people's struggle could be heard throughout the procession. All of a sudden, troops, police and Turkish auxiliaries hurled teargas and started to beat the crowd.

On 17 December, Archbishop Makarios sent the following strong protest to the Governor against the brutal behaviour of the security forces:

"There has always been a custom and a universal unwritten law that the dead should be respected even by their enemies, making provision for their burial. Such custom and unwritten law prevails also among the most uncivilized and most barbaric of peoples. We sincerely regret and strongly protest, that the British Military Authorities in Cyprus, together with boorish Turks recently mobilized as constables, showed disrespect to a dead person in a brutal way. Using tear-bombs and batons they attacked without any provocation the funeral procession, piously following the cortege of Charalambos Mouskos. They showed no respect even for the Crucifix or the religious symbols that accompanied the dead. Such sacrilege constitutes a dark stain on the history of the British occupation of Cyprus."¹³²

EOKA wages battle at Yialoussa

On 16 December 1955, twelve members of EOKA headed by Loizos Hadjiloizou, surrounded the police station at Yialoussa, which had been reinforced by 25 soldiers. There followed a battle of 15 minutes during which an English lieutenant was killed. The EOKA fighters left at their leisure, as everybody inside the station panicked and did not move out to pursue the attackers.

Harding boasts that he will crush EOKA

In a radio broadcast in the evening of 1st January 1956 Harding

132. "The complete works of Archbishop Makarios III of Cyprus," volume 2, pp. 130-131.

stated that "the days of EOKA are numbered and the spider's web is being spun around it." But he was proven wrong by the events that followed, despite the fact that the British troops on the island had reached the 40,000 mark and were well equipped. In addition, Harding poured a lot of money into the work of informers and used despicable tortures against the arrested fighters.

Dighenis made his own evaluation of Harding's boasting that he would soon dismantle EOKA. He wrote:

"As 1955 draws to a close the campaign of the Organisation 'Towards victory' continues. I did not deem it advisable to suspend or reduce its intensity, having left the initiative to the section commanders to choose and attack targets, according to the particular circumstances prevailing in each section. I considered this advisable mainly in order to enhance the fighting spirit and raise the morale of the teams, but that of the people also, who could see now that, despite the hard measures taken by Harding and the continuous arrival of British reinforcements, not only our movement was resisting but also the morale of the British troops was ebbing low, although they were composed of 'elite' units. On the other hand, the prolongation of our activity, far from weakening us as one might expect, gave us more strength, as the heroic exploits of our combatants won over the young people, who rushed in large numbers to swell our ranks."^{132a}

Dighenis moves from the Kakopetria area to the Kykko region

On 3 January 1956, Dighenis moved to a hideout in the village of Moutoullas and on 17 January headed towards the area of the Kykko monastery, via Kalopanayiotis village. In so doing he wanted to meet the guerrilla group active in that area and then to communicate with the Paphos region, in order to reorganize the teams and issue orders for their mission. He pursued his course through a tiring march that

132a. General George Grivas-Digenis, "Memoirs...", p.80.

lasted eight hours under rain and around midnight he arrived at the "Vasiliki" area of the Kykko monastery.

The battle of the flags at the elementary schools

During the talks between Harding and the Archbishop, Dighenis gave orders on 29 January 1956 for the Greek flag to be hoisted on primary school buildings. This measure was earnestly implemented all over Cyprus and as a consequence most elementary schools were shut down.

The British soldiers had a hard time with this situation because they were obliged to go from village to village and pull down the Greek flags. As soon as they left, however, the pupils hoisted a new flag.

According to a report by the English Director of Education, 418 out of 499 schools all over the island were forced to interrupt their classes during March 1956.

The battle of the Severios Library in Nicosia between pupils and the army-The Pancyprian Gymnasium is closed down-New clashes in all the towns of Cyprus

On 26 and 27 January 1956 students from the Pancyprian Gymnasium and security forces engaged in fierce clashes in the Archbishopric square, as a result of which the school was shut down. The Cypriot newspaper "Ethnos" ("The Nation") ran the story on the incidents under the following titles:

"Fifteen students, 2 English soldiers and one auxiliary constable were injured yesterday in new incidents in the square of the Archbishopric. Stones were exchanged between pupils on the roof of the Severios Library and the security forces in the square. Arrests were made."¹³³

The closure of the Pancyprian Gymnasium provoked more clashes between students and the security forces in all the towns of Cyprus on 31st January 1956.

133. "The Struggle of EOKA through the Cypriot Press," p. 102.

Petrakis Yiallourous is killed in Famagusta- The Greek Gymnasium of Famagusta is closed down

The students of the Greek Gymnasium of Famagusta clashed with the army on 6 February 1956 and the Governor ordered the school to be shut down. On the following day, the students of the Gymnasium and those of the Commercial Lyceum in the same town staged a demonstration and stoned English soldiers, who used gunfire against the students. As the students withdrew, an English soldier shot and mortally wounded the standard bearer of the Gymnasium **Petrakis Yiallourous** (1938-1956). Petrakis took a few steps forward, shouted "Long live Enosis" and fell dead. He was the first student to be sacrificed to the EOKA Struggle. He was in charge of the student groups in his school.

His activity is summarized thus:

" His duties were to organize the pupils in his school, to write and teach songs in a fighting spirit, to distribute leaflets, to conceal and



*Petrakis Yiallourous was a standard bearer in national ceremonies
of the Famagusta Gymnasium*

transport weapons, to deliver correspondence and to organize student demonstrations."¹³⁴

On account of these activities, the English had singled Petrakis Yiallourous out and shot him at the first opportunity.

His fiery love for his country is shown in a letter Petrakis Yiallourous wrote to his father on 18 November 1955: *"Man finds deep, perfect happiness, especially if he is Greek, in the drive towards high ideals, in the love of his country and in the desire to even sacrifice himself for its freedom, which also encompasses his own personal freedom and dignity."*¹³⁵

The Police set up beating squads

The Police acted brutally throughout the liberation struggle. Since February 1956, beatings by the members of the police had been placed on a systematic basis, following instructions by Police Commissioner G. H. Robins, which were published in the Police gazette on 10 February 1956. These instructions said:

*"All available men must be organized into Beating Squads and in order to achieve this, the traffic department must be confined within the minimum limits possible, investigating traffic accidents and handling technical matters only. The remaining personnel is to be organized into Beating Squads under the orders of a section leader, who should be a sergeant of the United Kingdom. The number of police clerks must be limited in order to use more men on the streets."*¹³⁶

The English search for the discovery of Dighenis and EOKA guerrillas

On 9 March 1956, the English began extensive search operations in the Kykko area, where the hideout of Dighenis and the strongest

guerrilla bands of EOKA were situated. Dighenis and his men moved towards the territory of Gerakies village, having spent the night out in the open. The cold was biting. On the next day they crossed the freezing waters of a torrent and headed for the summits of the village, where they spent the night. The following day they returned to the "Vasiliki" hideouts at Kykko, but they moved out again before they had even settled down, as information reached them that the searches being carried out in the Xeros area would be extending to the mountain regions. So, after great hardships they sought shelter at the "Black Cliffs," a very steep place.

4. THE TURKISH CYPRIOT ORGANISATION VOLKAN

On 11 January 1956, that is while the talks between Harding and Makarios went on, the illegal Turkish Cypriot organization VOLKAN began its violent reaction to the EOKA struggle, having already announced its existence. It had a low membership composed of some Turkish Cypriot auxiliary police and certain others. Serge Fleegars, the Cyprus correspondent of the International News Service of the U.S.A., studied the structure of VOLKAN in 1956, writing that there were about 100 well-armed and trained men and that its officers were Turkish Cypriot government employees and members of the "Special Branch." Fleegars also wrote:

"The fact that the position of these people affords them the opportunity to have first hand information about the security forces and EOKA, gives them amazing results."

He noted the following from his visit to the headquarters of VOLKAN:

"Hanging on the walls were military maps and various sketches with Turkish inscriptions, including sketches of the Troodos area and the Pentadaktylos mountain range. As it seemed, those sketches summarized information by the Turkish secret service regarding the positions of EOKA forces."

One of the VOLKAN officers told him:

"VOLKAN is ready to strike at any moment. Our aims are not aggressive. Rest assured, however, that if the Greeks start something,

134. "The martyred heroes of EOKA," p. 26.

135. Spyros Papageorgiou, "Cyprus Tempest 1955-1959," p. 297.

136. General George Grivas-Digenis, "Memoirs...", p. 95.

*we shall finish it. If Britain cedes Cyprus to Greece, we shall unleash a general attack. And then we shall make the EOKA action look like child's play."*¹³⁷

VOLKAN carried out bomb attacks against Greek property. Sometimes its activities took place in the Turkish quarter of Nicosia, in order to make the Turkish Cypriots fanatical towards the Greek Cypriots.

5. THE ARREST AND EXILE OF ARCHBISHOP MAKARIOS TO THE SEYCHELLES - BISHOP KYRPIANOS OF KYRENIA, PAPASTAVROS PAPAGATHANGELOU AND POLYCARPOS IOANNIDES ARE EXILED WITH HIM

The failure of the talks between Harding and Archbishop Makarios to find a political solution to the Cyprus problem led the British Government to the decision to exile the Archbishop and Ethnarch Makarios to the Mache island of the Seychelles. Harding had the authorization for Makarios' exile since 6 March but he waited for the right moment to use it.

At 2 p.m. on 9 March, the Archbishop left his Palace for Nicosia airport to catch a flight to Athens. He was due to have talks there with the Greek Government.

Following the Archbishop's departure, English paratroopers cut off the streets leading to the Archbishopric with barbed wire. At appropriate points on the roofs of some buildings they placed machine guns. Other troops entered the Archbishopric building and started to search. They then took the keys of the main entrance and sent away all the clerics, who sought refuge in the outpost of the Kykko monastery in Nicosia.

Recounting the events of his arrest the Archbishop later said:

"When we reached the entrance to the airport an English officer approached us. He opened the car door, asked politely my brother

137. P. Papademetris - P. Petrides, "Historical Encyclopedia of Cyprus (1878-1978)," vol. 11, p.295.



The headline news of the exile of Archbishop Makarios, Kyrenia Bishop Kyprianos, Papastavros Papagathangelou and Polycarpus Ioannides.

and the Assistant Bishop to get out and he sat himself at the wheel. The second car in which our friends were travelling was channeled in the normal way towards the arrival and departure lounges. I thought all these were being done to facilitate my departure, so I would not have to go through customs procedures etc. I realized, however, that the English officer was not driving my car towards the civilian airport, but towards the military one. I could still not understand what exactly was happening, although I became suspicious. The car stopped in front of a rather large military plane. The English officer politely opened the door for me and with a lot of courtesy asked me to get into the plane. Another English officer was waiting for me inside. Most courteously he said to me: "I am sorry, but I have to do my duty." And he read to me the order of my deportation, which said that I would be kept away from the Crown

Colony, for as long as it would please Her Majesty."¹³⁸

Harding's order read as follows:

"Because I the Governor am convinced that it would be in the public interest to order the deportation from the Colony of Michael Kykkotis, Archbishop of Cyprus III, hereinafter referred to as 'the said person', therefore in the exercise of the rights, given me by article 7 of the Emergency Regulations (Public Security and Order, 195 - No 3, 1956), I the Governor hereby order the deportation of the said person from the Colony and to this purpose I order and enjoin the following:

1) The said person is hereby ordered to leave the Colony on 9th March 1956 and to remain henceforth outside the Colony.

2) The said person, in awaiting his deportation, shall remain in the custody of the Commissioner of Police or of any other officer of the Police so enjoined by the Commissioner of Police.

3) The said person shall remain in the custody of Her Majesty's Government during his deportation.

This was issued at Nicosia on the 7th of March 1956."¹³⁹

The Archbishop recounted the following about his co-exiles:

"Time was passing and the plane would not take off. I became curious. At a certain moment I saw Papastavros Papagathengelou, chief priest of Phaneromeni church, coming towards the plane. I assumed he had managed to secure a permit and came as far as the plane to see me off.

- How did you manage to come here? I asked him.

- I did not come, they brought me, was his reply.

- We shall be travelling together then.

I humoured him to dispel his distress and troubled condition. Following the same procedure, the English officer approached him, to read out to him the deportation order. He asked him:

- Are you the Bishop of Kyrenia?

138. Spyros Papageorgiou, "Cyprus Tempest 1955-1959," p. 469.

139. "The complete works of Archbishop Makarios III of Cyprus." Volume 2, p.730.

'So the Kyrenia Bishop is coming too,' I said to myself. As it indeed turned out, the Bishop of Kyrenia Kyprianos was brought after a while, followed by Polycarpos Ioannides, the Secretary of the Kyrenia Bishopric. He had been arrested while out shopping. The door closed and the plane took off without us being told where it was heading to."¹⁴⁰

As soon as the exile of the Archbishop became known the church bells began to toll and large crowds gathered to protest the unacceptable move by Harding.

The official communiqué issued on the deportation of the Archbishop and his co-exiles included the following:

"The operation of deportation was carried out calmly and without incidents, according to the plan prepared and implemented jointly by the Army and the Police... The plane has left for a destination, which will be disclosed later. Three British police officers travelled on the same plane as escorts. The houses of the four deported persons are now being searched."¹⁴¹

Ultimately, Archbishop Makarios and his three co-exiles arrived at the Mache Island of the Seychelles and stayed at the Sans Souci villa, which was situated on a mountainside. The conditions of their detention were harsh as far as relations with the outside world were concerned. They were not allowed to send telegrams and letters without submitting them to censorship, nor receive visits or make contacts with the inhabitants of the island. In their movements they were chaperoned by guards.

The exile of the four Cypriots, who played an important part in the Cypriot people's struggle for the union of Cyprus with Greece, as well as the intensification of terrorizing measures by the English, aimed at the weakening and ultimate abandonment of the EOKA struggle. The military were all over island. The Palace of the exiled Archbishop was taken over by the army. Garrisons were placed at key points in Nicosia and everywhere else in Cyprus.

140. Spyros Papageorgiou, "Cyprus Tempest 1955-1959," pp. 462-463.

141. "The complete works of Archbishop Makarios III of Cyprus," vol. 2. p. 731



*The four exiles in the Seychelles. From left to right:
Papastavros Papagathangelou, Bishop Kyprianos, Archbishop Makarios,
Polycarpus Ioannides.*

As soon as the news of Archbishop Makarios' exile was heard, the Prime Minister of Greece, Constantinos Karamanlis, called an emergency meeting of the Council of Ministers, which lasted all night. In a show of protest it was decided:

- 1) To recall to Athens the Greek Ambassador in London.
- 2) To instruct the permanent representative of Greece to the United Nations to (a) table a protest to the U.N. Secretary General (b) submit a new appeal to the U.N. (c) protest to the Security Council.

The Greek Government put out a communiqué on the same issue, levelling accusations against the British Government. The communiqué said:

"The arrest and displacement of Archbishop Makarios has filled the whole nation with indignation.

We report this act to the International Public Opinion as an act of unprecedented violence which is incompatible with the civilization of our era, as an act which has no other excuse but the attempt to silence the voice of a historic people, who claim their democratic freedoms and national independence.

We report it as an act that is aimed against the Head of one of the oldest Churches of Christendom.

We report it as an act, testifying to the moral weakness to which the policy of Great Britain has deteriorated.

Throughout their age-long history the Nation and the Church have known many and difficult trials, from which they have always emerged with new powers and strengthened morale.

And so now, the Greek soul not only will not yield, but it will draw fresh courage and new life.

*We call on the Greek people to face this moral crisis with calm determination and deep faith, until the principles of Freedom and Justice fully prevail."*¹⁴²

The Greek permanent representative to the U.N., Chr. Xanthopoulos - Palamas tabled the following protest with a document attached to the Secretary General of the International Organization on 10 March 1956:

"The British claim that they are defending the legal order against terrorism. But it is not possible for legal order to exist without freedom. The arrest and displacement of Archbishop Makarios has no precedent in the political annals of the civilized world. Governor Harding had recognized Makarios as the representative of the Greek population in Cyprus and, having negotiated with him for five months on equal terms, he decided and carried out his arrest and displacement on the day after the negotiations. One of the negotiators, abusing the material power he possesses, arrested and displaced the other, for the reason that the other, although making important

¹⁴². "The complete works of Archbishop Makarios III of Cyprus," volume 2, p. 732.

concessions, could not betray the cause he had a duty to defend... The hearts of the Greek people are overcome by the strongest indignation, shared by all the free people all over the world."¹⁴³

Bishop Anthimos of Kition, who replaced Archbishop Makarios during his exile, in a circular addressed to the "Pious Congregation of the Most Holy Church of Cyprus" on 12 March 1956, said the following:

*"We shall follow in a common spirit, with the same faith and vocation as before, the national line which he has charted in complete agreement with the Ethnarchy Council and the other representatives of the people, and shall prove that the British Government is deplorably mistaken in thinking that through the exile of the Archbishop it will find any supporters among the Greek Cypriot people to impose its plans."*¹⁴⁴

The results of Ethnarch Makarios's exile did not turn out to be what the English had expected. The fighting spirit of the Greek Cypriot people was strengthened and the EOKA struggle continued stubbornly. The decision of Dighenis was: "Fight to the end."

The EOKA leader wrote in a leaflet on 12 March 1956.

*"Cyprus must rid itself of British rule and it will do so. The displacements of Orthodox prelates prove the despair that has overcome Governor Harding. I am determined to continue the Struggle, having complete faith in the final victory, and I warn that if anyone should lose their courage or think of collaborating with the oppressors, they would be severely punished."*¹⁴⁵

The political columnist of the English newspaper "Daily Mirror" wrote about the exile of the Archbishop: "Archbishop Makarios does

143. "The complete works of Archbishop Makarios III of Cyprus," volume 2, p. 733.

144. "The complete works of Archbishop Makarios III of Cyprus," volume 2, pp. 736-737.

145. "The complete works of Archbishop Makarios III of Cyprus," volume 2, p. 735.

more damage to British policy from the Seychelles than from Nicosia."¹⁴⁶

The publicist Thomas Anthem in a letter to the newspaper "Manchester Guardian," in August 1956, called on the British Government to review its attitude and look at the situation in Cyprus in a different light. He wrote:

*"A revolutionary and liberation struggle is being waged in Cyprus and in all similar struggles the clerics have played a major part. Violence is inseparable from such movements and I, as a Christian, cannot see any difference between the blessing of our troops by the English clergy during the two World Wars 'for freedom' and the blessing which it is said the Archbishop has bestowed on EOKA."*¹⁴⁷

146. Spyros Papageorgiou, "Cyprus Tempest 1955- 1959," p.469.

147. Spyros Papageorgiou, "Cyprus Tempest 1955 - 1959," p. 469.

CHAPTER 5

THE EVENTS FOLLOWING THE EXILE OF ARCHBISHOP MAKARIOS UNTIL HIS RELEASE FROM THE SEYCHELLES

(9 March 1956 – 28 March 1957)

Following the exile of Archbishop Makarios to the Seychelles, EOKA intensified its activity against the English. The security forces undertook big operations in the Kykko area, aiming to crush EOKA but they did not succeed. Dighenis and five EOKA fighters were pursued by English troops but they managed to escape through many dangers. The EOKA leader then decided to go and settle in Limassol, from where he would conduct the Struggle until its termination. In parallel to their military operations, the English sought to solve the Cyprus problem by implementing a constitution of self-government for the Cypriot people. During this period, nine EOKA fighters were hung. The Turkish Cypriots resorted to acts of violence against the Greek population. The morale of the fighting people of Cyprus remained high.

1. THE ACTIVITY OF EOKA AND ENGLISH MEASURES AGAINST IT

The situation in Cyprus worsens

The situation in Cyprus took a turn for the worse after the exile of Archbishop Makarios. The English intensified their terrorist measures by resorting to vandalisms, ill treatment and unspeakable tortures with the use of scientific methods. They also employed Turkish Cypriots in the auxiliary and mobile police and trained the men of VOLKAN to take armed action against the EOKA liberation struggle.

EOKA unleashed fierce attacks against the English. With the passing of time the number of its teams increased, including those in the

villages. Young girls trained in the use of explosives and handguns formed sabotage squads all over Cyprus.

Dighenis wrote about the guerrilla groups of EOKA after the exile of the Archbishop.

"I intensified my effort in better training for more effective and flexible action. I had already formed nine guerilla groups, five of which were under my full control and guidance on the western Olympus (Troodos) and which I had trained and equipped well. A special defence plan had been prepared for each one of them and surprise attack missions had been defined."^{147a}

An EOKA ambush on the road between Chandria and Agros - The death of Christos Tsiartas

On 16 March 1956, the numerous guerrilla team of the Papoutsas mountain ridge led by Gregoris Afxentiou ambushed two military vehicles on the road between Chandria and Agros. Savvas Koullapis, who took part in the operation, recounted:

"The spot for the ambush was a large circular curve, very sharp. The terrain was rocky and offered no cover. There were two cars, a jeep full of soldiers and a taxi carrying interrogators, as it was later ascertained. According to the plan, the leader would give the attack signal when both cars took the turn.

Soon the first car arrived at the curve but as the second one was still way behind and there was a possibility it might escape us if we did not get a chance to hit it further down the road, we opened fire against it with everything we had as soon as it had taken the turn. Despite casualties, it managed to get away. We later learnt that there had been four wounded, one of whom died in Agros Hospital.

*As soon as the second car approached, we attacked it and forced it to stop, firing with our guns and using hand grenades. One of the passengers managed to get out and, taking cover, he returned the fire."*¹⁴⁸

147a. General George Grivas - Dighenis, "Memoirs...", p. 94.

148. George Grivas - Dighenis, "Chronicle...", p. 556.

The shots by the Englishman killed Christos Tsiartas (1931-1956) as his team withdrew. His wife reacted to his death as a true Greek woman should. A few lines from the book "Martyred heroes of EOKA" are characteristic:

"His young wife, Evgenia, showed remarkable courage at the news of his death. She did not even shed one tear in front of the English, when they brought his body to the village and led her before her dead husband. Honouring his sacrifice, she continued to contribute to the Struggle until it was over."

Dighenis, who knew the hero personally, wrote about him:

*"Christos Tsiartas was a perfect scout and a most trustworthy person. He was in charge of the weapons depot and the guerrillas' clothing. He was a dedicated patriot with high moral principles and one of the first to join the guerrilla teams of Pitsilia. Among the important missions assigned to him was to monitor with his team the road from Kakopetria to Spilia, the northern ridges of which offered shelter to the guerrilla groups of Renos Kyriakides. He never made a fuss about any of his assignments, however difficult. He was an irreplaceable loss for the Pitsilia area."*¹⁴⁹

A time bomb in Harding's bed

Speaking on the government radio broadcasting station of Nicosia on 20 March 1956, Harding said he would quell the EOKA rebellion in six months.

On the same day, Neofytos Sophocleous, the Governor's valet, received a "belly shaped" time bomb from a Nicosia execution squad. He concealed it in his corset and advanced to the Government House, holding the correspondence and a fruit basket. He managed to get passed four guards without the bomb being discovered. On the night between 20 and 21 March he activated the time device in his room, setting it to explode at 2.30 a.m. on the following day. Next morning he went into the Governor's chamber to carry out his usu-

149. George Grivas - Dighenis, "Chronicle...", p. 556.

al duties, taking the bomb with him and placing it between the mattresses in Harding's bed. That night the Governor slept unaware of the danger that beset him. The bomb did not go off at the fixed hour (2.30 a.m.) because of low temperature. It was later found and disposed of.

Following his bold attempt, Neofytos Sophocleous joined a guerilla team in the Kykko area. He was put on the wanted list with a reward of 5.000 pounds on his head.¹⁵⁰

The incident caused a nervous shock to Harding, who proscribed Dighenis for 10,000 pounds. Dighenis responded by proscribing Harding without a reward, something that psychologically upset the Governor of Cyprus. When Harding learnt about this, he banged on his desk with his fists in a state of frenzy and demanded from his officers to deliver Dighenis to him in fifteen days.

The Greeks of Cyprus are prevented from celebrating the 25th of March in 1956

The Acting Ethnarch Bishop Anthimos of Kition in a circular he issued on 21st March 1956 called on the Cypriot people to honour the 25th of March, both a religious and national feast for the Greeks (Trans. note: The Annunciation of the Virgin and Greek Independence day). The Government cancelled all celebrations, imposing a curfew on the inhabitants of all the towns and large villages as from 4 p.m. on 25th March until 4 a.m. on the next day. Michalakis Karaolis, who had been sentenced to death, wrote to his brother Andreas on the morning of 25th March from the Nicosia Central Prison:

"I am well. How are you? You lose your visiting day today because the curfew prevents it. But who is that God that will ever forgive the fact that the churches have remained shut today and no mass was celebrated on the day of such a hugely meaningful feast, or rather on this boundless convergence of feasts, which is just a little short of a Major Easter? (Trans. note: When the Annunciation and Inde-

150. General George Grivas - Dighenis, "Memoirs...", pp. 96-97, "Chronicle...", 182-184.

*pendence day coincide with Orthodox Easter). Every meaning of Angels and men celebrating together is lost, as it is every wish to offer praise, thanks and worship for the supreme kindness of divine condescension, the inexpressible joyous announcement of our salvation and the revelation of the ageless mystery."*¹⁵¹

Harding's tactics against EOKA - The strength of EOKA one year after the commencement of the Struggle

Harding used every military means at his disposal for the annihilation of EOKA. Following the attempt at his life with a time bomb in his bed he took fresh decisions. Dighenis wrote:

"He decided to take draconian measures against the non-combatant population in order to defeat EOKA, which had become a nightmare to him. To this end he instructed his secret service to spare no method in extracting information, and he also released his troops from the obligation to show restraint."

He then added the following, referring to the strength of EOKA:

"In spite of these tactics by Harding and the unimaginable difficulties we are facing, we have succeeded within a year to get organized in a very satisfactory way. The sabotage squads and the combat groups in the towns had already been well structured, while even more so were the guerrilla teams. In the meantime we started to organize other teams in the countryside. Youth had already become spirited in its manifestations. In this way I could on the basis of a general plan and through a perfect communications network alternate the activity of various groups or combine it. All groups have acquired a deep knowledge of their tasks, as well as the necessary flexibility. And this has been achieved in just a year with human resources that had never used arms before, without trained cadres and without military commands. They were taught war through war. What has been accomplished is a real miracle."^{151a}

151. Spyros Papageorgiou, "Cyprus Tempest 1955-1959," p. 238.

151a. General George Grivas-Dighenis, "Memoirs...", p. 97.

**Dighenis distributes a leaflet on 1st April 1956
on the occasion of the first anniversary of the
commencement of the EOKA Struggle**

The leaflet of Dighenis was the following:

"A year has passed since the Cypriot Youth raised the standard of Revolution for the overthrow of the most hateful tyranny of our century. There are two adversaries on each side. One is the entire Greek Cypriot people, the little David with the frugal material means, but armed with the most powerful of moral weapons: Justice and Faith in the struggle. The other is an empire of 500.000.000, who do not know, however, the cause for which they are fighting and who lack the ideal of a struggle.

The result of a year's hard fighting is that which history has been teaching us throughout the ages, that JUSTICE always prevails and INJUSTICE is punished. Moral forces always defeat MATERIAL means.

The laws of history cannot be overturned either by violence or intrigue, unlawful dealings or diplomatic trickery. This is why the blows we deliver against the enemy are mortal, this is why we are winning and will continue to win until the tyrant is crushed under the heel of the freedom fighting Cypriot people.

CYPRIOTS,

Have no doubt about the final outcome. Unlike our adversary, I have never had any illusions. I see things through the prism of reality, I only have faith in God and weigh my powers. Whatever I promise I deliver. I PROMISE you once more: our movement shall not be squashed by material violence and we shall OVERCOME. What I demand of you is PERSISTENCE in the struggle, in spite of the tyrant's terrorism, and PATIENCE. I shall pursue the fight with inexhaustible fervour, which the great deeds of our immortal ancestors have inspired in me. I am absolutely certain that the day is not very far away when Harding's soldiers will depart, saluting the blue and white flag, which will be waving in the free skies of Cyprus.

CYPRIOTS,

At this hour when we conclude a year of struggles, sacrifices and

carnage, let us remember:

- Those who have watered the rooting tree of freedom with their blood. Let those who can, place a wreath of glory where their graves are situated.

- Those who are decaying in the prisons, because their only crime has been that like all the rest of the civilized people they too wanted to breath the air of freedom.

Finally, let us fix our stare with confidence and pride at CYPRIOT YOUTH, our joy, the idol of our long suffering island, who, defying the much more numerous and well equipped enemy, are fighting every inch of the way and strike, strike at the tyrant.

CYPRIOTS,

With faith and PERSEVERANCE let us march to the finish. The tyrant is writhing. He is already asking for new reinforcements.

E.O.K.A. THE LEADER DIGHENIS^{151b}

**Dighenis receives information about impending large scale
military operations - His measures against Harding's plans**

In April 1956, Dighenis learnt that large-scale military operations would be taking place in the area of Lefka-Xeros-Kampos-Kykko Monastery. As a first reaction he spread the guerrilla teams out by removing three of the five that were concentrated in that area. He then proceeded to relocate the remaining two as well. They started to march on the night of 18 April. After an arduous and non-stop walk, Dighenis and the guerrillas of these teams arrived in an area northeast of the Cedar Valley and north of the Black Cliffs. Four of the guerrillas went towards Loutros village and from there they continued until they met up with the Tillyria group.

Foreseeing that he might be cut off during the army search and rendered unable to communicate with the EOKA section command-

^{151b}. Spyros Papageorgiou, "The archive of the underground documents of the Cypriot Struggle 1955-1959," 2nd ed., Kostas Epiphaniou Publications, Nicosia 1984, pp. 63-65.

ers, Dighenis authorized the contact leader to issue an order for the fighters in the towns and in the countryside to take action in such an eventuality, in order to cause a diversion and keep the enemy forces busy all over Cyprus.

The two groups remained north of the Black Cliffs for about a week and then advanced south of Kykko, in order to have better access to supplies. They were to stay permanently in this new retreat, equipped with the necessary hideouts and extra rations.

Dighenis with four of his men visited the guerilla group situated east of Stavros tis Psokas, gave the necessary instructions to its members and provided reserve rations for them. He then moved to the area of the Black Cliffs, where he set up the command post of EOKA.

Big army operations in the Kykko area for the annihilation of the EOKA guerilla groups - Dighenis retreats to Limassol

Big army operations began to unfold in the Kykko area on 17 May 1956, aiming to destroy the guerrilla groups of EOKA. The English succeeded in capturing three guerrilla teams. The rest of the teams in the area came under strong army pressure towards the end of May and in the beginning of June. Dighenis then gave orders for diversionary activity by the section commands outside the zone of military operations.

On 8 June, Dighenis and the fighters Antonis Georgiades, Pavlos Nikitas, Lambros Kavkalides, Stelios Xapolytos and Giangos Thoma, arrived at the "Dipli" locality, south of Milikouri village. They were constantly on the move in order to avoid the risk of getting caught. They went through tremendous hardships. Hunger and thirst were a very serious problem they faced. They remained without food for 30 hours and without water for 18 hours, and were forced to chew bush leaves and weeds.

Pavlos Nikitas recounted the following about the great adventure of Dighenis' team:

"We resumed our march on the following day, 10 June 1956, thirsty and exhausted by the difficult going. From afar we could see

the English move slyly, but we kept on courageously and patiently. At some point we came to a halt. Thirst made it very difficult for us to continue. Yiangos from Galini was bleeding at the lips and the Chief, worn out, said we would die of thirst. Having caught our breath, we started again through the inaccessible mountains of Pera Vasa with the purpose of finding water. Indeed, after a long while, at around 2 p.m. on 10 June, we came upon a running stream.

We fell on our faces into the water. Such was our thirst that we forgot all about the danger, took our clothes off and went into the water to cool ourselves. We had hardly begun to enjoy it, when we realized that a team of English paratroopers wearing the distinctive red beret, had come very close to us. We only saw them when they were a few yards away. "There they are, they are English," Lambros Kavkalides muttered. He had hardly finished his sentence when a round of bullets whizzed over our heads. We ran as we were through the bushes and the wild trees without taking any of our things with us. The English chased after us firing constantly, but fortunately none of us was hit.

Slowly we managed to fool them and hid ourselves in the thick bushes. We stayed hidden until 9 p.m. I must say that we were exposed to such danger that at some moment the Chief took his pistol out of his holster, ready to die fighting and not be taken alive. They got so close to us when we were inside the bushes that Lambros said he could grab the foot of an English soldier standing above us.



In the mountain retreats of Kykko during the time of the Struggle (1956). (To the left, of Dighenis is Loulla Kokkinou and to his right the wife of then Greek Consul Roufos. The seated fighter is Lambros Kavkalides).

*At 9 in the night of 10 June we set off on a march that may have determined the fate of the 1955-1959 Struggle. We walked naked and barefoot in thorns and brambles. From whenever we passed we left a trail of blood running from our feet."*¹⁵²

After many hardships, Dighenis and the five members of his party reached Kaminaria, where they were given food supplies. During the night and all through the next day they remained hiding near the small river of the village. From Kaminaria they set out for the Trooditissa monastery, where they arrived on 13 June. The abbot and the monks gave them food, clothes and whatever else they needed.

Having remained hidden in the forested area of Troodos, they left for Saittas, where they arrived on 16 June. From there Dighenis and Antonis Georghiades headed towards Gerasa through Ayios Mamas, where they arrived in the early hours of 18 June. They spent the night there and the following evening they were taken to Limassol in the car of Limassol police lieutenant, Costis Efstathiou. Driving through the main streets of the city, they reached the house of Dafnis Panagides on the night of the 19th to the 20th of June.

Dighenis and Antonis Georghiades stayed at Dafnis Panagides' house until the 14th of September, availing themselves of a hideout that existed in the house garden. From 14 September 1956 until the end of the Struggle, the EOKA leader and Antonis Georghiades stayed in a hiding place at the house of Marios and Elli Christodoulidou, which was situated at a small distance from the house of Dafnis Panagides. From there Dighenis directed the campaign for 2 ½ years successfully, without the English being able to locate him. A well-organized contact network delivered Dighenis' correspondence to all the districts. A young girl from Limassol, Elizabeth Nikolaou, carried the correspondence from and to Dighenis through Maroula Dafnis Panagides, without anything ever going amiss.

During the army operations that had taken place for the discov-

152. "The Chronicle of the EOKA Struggle 1955 - 1959 of Limassol City and District by SAPEL," pp. 135-136.

ery of Dighenis, a fire broke out in the Paphos forest on 16 June, taking terrible proportions the next day. It was put out with difficulty on 19 June with the help of villagers.

An official communiqué on 18 June said:

*"The military authorities deeply regret to announce that 19 British soldiers have lost their lives in fighting a forest fire in the Troodos area. Eighteen other soldiers were injured and are receiving hospital treatment. The losses were caused by a sudden change in the wind direction, which shifted the fire with great speed towards the troops."*¹⁵³

New searches for the discovery of Dighenis

The search for the discovery of Dighenis continued into July 1956. Extensive operations took place in Karpasia, in Pitsilia, in the Saittas area and at Lefkara but without success. On 13 July, a new hunt began in the district of Paphos after a large area was cut off (Paphos, Polis Chrysochous, Pomos, Kampos, Tris Elies, Ayios Nicolaos, Kato Panayia). All the searches ended without results.

EOKA prepares for new action in July 1956 - Speculations of the foreign press about the limited activity of EOKA

Following his establishment in Limassol, Dighenis temporarily interrupted the activity of EOKA in order to make the necessary preparations for the section commands to resume fierce attacks and sabotage when so notified. For this reason there were only isolated incidents during July.

During this time Dighenis: a) Busied himself with the reorganization of the guerrilla groups. 2) Sent orders to the sections in the towns and the countryside, defining the targets and the tempo for their implementation. 3) Defined the assignments for the guerrilla units and gave instructions about the methods to be used. 4) Took care about the supply of the teams with the necessary material and

153. General George Grivas- Dighenis, "Memoirs ...," p.110.

food reserves that would be necessary in case they were cut off.

EOKA was ready for action by the end of July 1956, but Dighenis did not give the order, as there was information that the English would invite Archbishop Makarios for new talks in London that could lead to a solution of the Cyprus problem.

The foreign press then began to publish various speculations about Dighenis. A characteristic example was a report in the Times of London on 23 July 1956 in a dispatch from their Cyprus correspondent:

"Many explanations may be given about the lull in terrorism. It could be that the recent mountain operations have broken up the Organisation of the terrorists, as the security forces claim. It is also possible that the terrorists by themselves have decided to give international developments a chance. It may be that the pressure on commercial interests, in combination with fears for further prolonged curfews, has discouraged the terrorists from further action."¹⁵⁴

The truce of EOKA in August 1956 – Harding's reaction

On 16 August 1956, Dighenis issued a proclamation by which he announced that he was suspending the operations of EOKA, in order to facilitate the resumption of negotiations between the British Government and Archbishop Makarios. The proclamation read as follows:

"For sixteen months now the heroic children of Cyprus have been fighting a hard struggle for freedom. The adversary, whose unjustified intransigence has imposed on us our liberation movement, now uses precisely this struggle of ours, which he describes as 'armed violence,' to justify his refusal to come to an agreement with us. I have undertaken the struggle not out of personal vanity, but with the vision of a free Cyprus, and I shall dedicate all my powers to this purpose. I am prepared this time also to offer yet another example of

¹⁵⁴. General George Grivas-Dighenis, "Memoirs...", p. 117.

my humanitarian feelings, in order to prevent further bloodshed and to help in the rapprochement of the fighting factions, so that the aspirations of Greek Cyprus would be realised. I nevertheless wish to state the following: if the adversary is indeed honest when he states that under the circumstances created in Cyprus on account of our activity it is not possible to reach a just solution as the one we seek, I am prepared to suspend the operations of the forces under my command and expect full reciprocation on the part of England, in order to meet the demands of the Cypriot people, as their Ethnarch Archbishop Makarios has advanced, supported and will negotiate them. As proof of my firm will to promote the task undertaken by the Ethnarch Makarios to its positive conclusion, and in order to provide him with the opportunity to defend and achieve the resolution of the National issue, I order as from today the suspension of operations by the units under my command. The National Organisation of Cypriot Fighters states, however, that it will rest its weapons but it will also be on the alert, ready for new sacrifices, should they be forced on it by any threat coming from anywhere, with the certainty that it has all the moral and material supplies to prevail.

E.O.K.A. THE LEADER DIGHENIS.¹⁵⁵

In a speech at the Forestry College of Prodromos, Harding said on 18 August:

*"The proclamation of EOKA about ceasing violence could prove a decisive turn in the history of the island and an opportunity for a new start."*¹⁵⁶

But how did Harding respond to the truce of EOKA, so that negotiations could begin for the solution of the Cyprus problem? In a radio announcement on 22 August and with a leaflet distributed the next day, he demanded the surrender of the EOKA men with their weapons.

¹⁵⁵. General George Grivas Dighenis, "Memoirs...", pp. 120-121.

¹⁵⁶. General George Grivas – Dighenis, "Memoirs...", p.122.

Here is the full text of Harding's leaflet:

*"TO ALL THE MEMBERS OF EOKA
TERMS OF SURRENDER*

1. So that those members of EOKA who are fugitives from justice may not have any further reason or pretext to prevent a peaceful solution

H.E. THE GOVERNOR

Has authorized the offer to them of the following terms of surrender:

DEADLINE

2. This offer is valid from the midnight of 22nd August 1956 until the midnight of 12th September 1956.

TERMS

3. If you surrender within this period with your weapons, or supply information leading to their discovery, then you may choose
 - A. To leave Cyprus for GREECE, as soon as the necessary arrangements have been made and under certain conditions, as they are given in paragraph 4 below

or

- B. To stay in CYPRUS and face the consequences of your past actions as a member of a terrorist organization, as explained in paragraph 5 below.

Once you have made your choice about the one or the other course, you will not be permitted to change your mind.

4. If you decide to leave CYPRUS for GREECE, the following conditions shall apply:

- a) You will be held in custody awaiting your departure.
 - b) You will not be prosecuted for any crime, which you have committed before midnight on 22 August, even if it involved violence against the person.
 - c) Your decision shall be subject to proof that GREECE is willing to accept you.
 - d) If you are a BRITISH subject, you will need to undertake the obligation that upon your arrival you will apply for GREEK nation-

ality as soon as possible and that in the future you shall not ask for protection and prerogatives as a BRITISH subject.

- e) At your departure you will be declared an illegal immigrant and you will not be allowed to return to CYPRUS.

In the case where you would not be accepted in Greece, you will be treated as if you had decided to stay in CYPRUS.

5. If you decide to stay in CYPRUS the following conditions shall apply:

- a) If there is evidence against you for committing a specific crime involving violence against the person, you shall be brought to trial.
 - b) You shall not be brought to trial for a lesser terrorist crime, committed before midnight on 22 August 1956, which DID not involve violence against the person.
 - c) Unless you are brought to trial and convicted, you shall remain in custody until your release, either upon the termination of the State of Emergency or on the order of the Governor, whichever may occur sooner.

MODE OF SURRENDER

6. Present yourself at the nearest police station or the nearest army unit.

7. Bring your weapons with you or give information leading to their discovery.

8. Listen to the instructions of the Security Forces very carefully. If you have a gun, carry it in a way that it cannot be used. When the guard orders you to stop,

Stop - raise your hands above your head.

Shout - I surrender.

9. You may surrender day and night. But at night be careful to approach openly, through the ordinary route, and stop when called upon to do so.

10. If possible, bring this leaflet with you and show it to the person to whom you are surrendering.

WARNING

11. Anyone committing a crime after midnight on 22 August shall be

prosecuted. There shall be no relaxation in the effort of the Security Forces to enforce the law.

12. You must remember that carrying a weapon and the possession of arms and explosives without a legal licence continue to be illegal and they constitute crimes punishable the former by death and the latter by life imprisonment.

13. If you surrender now and an amnesty is later declared, you should be able to benefit from the amnesty, under the condition that you will not commit another crime after midnight on 22 August 1956.

Here is your chance

SURRENDER NOW!" 156a

Dighenis immediately rejected Harding's ultimatum with the following proclamation which was distributed on 23 August all over the island:

"EOKA

THE VICTORS DO NOT SURRENDER

At two historical junctions for the Greek Nation, when the impudent invader asked for the surrender of arms, they received 'MOLON LABE' for an answer at Thermopylae and 'OCHI' on the PINDOS mountains. (Trans. note 7)

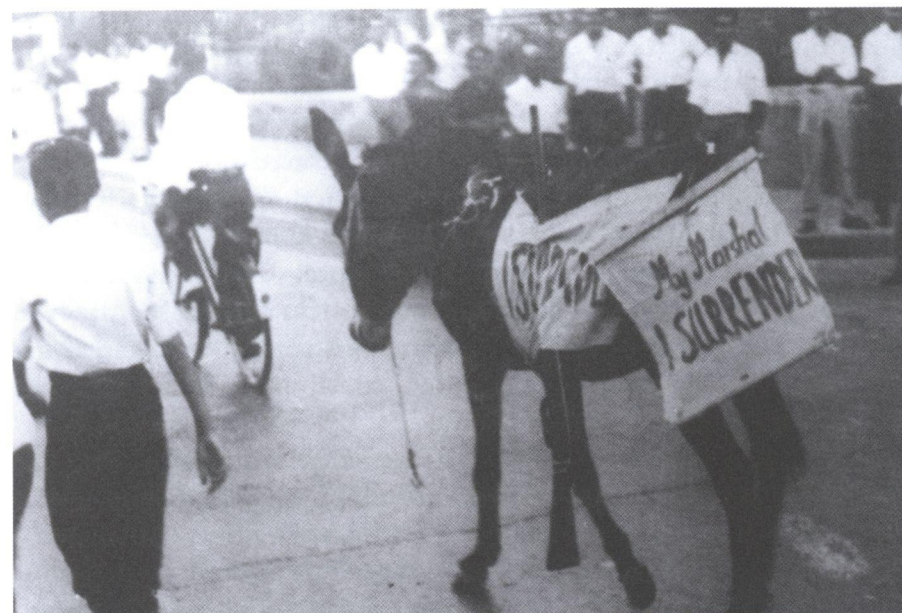
As the military Leader of the fighting Greek people my answer to your demand for surrender is MOLON LABE.

A CESSATION of the fighting is not possible BEFORE A COMPLETE AGREEMENT IS REACHED.

The demand of the English Government shows insincerity and al-

156a. General George Grivas - Dighenis, "Memoirs...", pp. 124-125.

Trans. note 7. "Molon labe," (Classical Greek: Μολών λαβέ), meaning "come and get them": the answer of the Spartan King Leonidas to the Persians when they asked him to surrender his arms at the battle of Thermopylae in 480BC. "Ochi," the Greek word for 'No' given as a reply to Moussolini's ultimatum by the Greek Prime Minister Ioannis Metaxas on 28 October 1940.



This was the answer of EOKA to Harding's proposal for the surrender of its members.

so an ulterior motive. Nevertheless, in order to demonstrate yet once more my goodwill and to prevent bloodshed, I warn that if this shameful demand for surrender is not recalled until midnight on 27 instant and negotiations do not start on the basis of Archbishop Makarios' terms, then I shall release myself of the truce commitment, which I undertook on my own initiative, and shall resume freedom of action."¹⁵⁷

EOKA replied to Harding's call for the surrender of its members with a donkey, which was let loose in the streets of Nicosia laden with wooden rifle replicas. A notice had been attached to it with the words "My Marshall, I surrender." It was a humorous response ex-

157. General George Grivas-Dighenis, "Memoirs...", p. 125.

pressing the spirit that EOKA was determined to continue the Struggle until the final victory.

The discovery and publication of Dighenis' Diary

Acting on information, the English discovered part of Dighenis' notes constituting his Diary, buried deep in a field at Lysi village. Harding published the Diary of Dighenis on 26 August 1956. On the same day, the Colonial Secretary called a press conference in London and revealed that Archbishop Makarios was personally involved in EOKA and had been giving orders for its activities. Asked if the Archbishop would be charged before a court of law as an accessory to murders, Lennox - Boyd replied:

*"The Government here and the Government of Cyprus shall seriously consider the personal position of the Archbishop in the whole issue."*¹⁵⁸

EOKA resumes its activity at the end of August 1956 - New measures by the English to counter EOKA - The security forces arrest and place the Acting Ethnarch Bishop Anthimos in confinement- The arrest of Nikos Kranidiotis, Secretary of the Ethnarchy Council

Following Harding's negative stance towards the truce of EOKA, Dighenis issued orders to the section commands to resume their action. The order of 23 August said:

"I wish that our activity manifests itself as extremely fierce regardless of risks and sacrifices."

With another order on 26 August he set the 28th of the same month as the date for the resumption of action by EOKA members.

Naturally, the English took precautionary military measures to counter possible action by EOKA, such as intensified patrols, barbed wire in the streets, searches and troop movements. Propaganda was one of the many means used by Harding to achieve his purpose, distributing leaflets that presented EOKA as the only obstacle to the

158. Spyros Papageorgiou, "The Cyprus Tempest 1955-1959," p. 526.

peace and prosperity of the Cypriot people. The Cypriot people viewed with disdain the thousands of leaflets released by the English from cars and airplanes, as well as their radio propaganda..

In a speech broadcast on 29 August 1956, Harding said: "The next big step towards the political settlement of the Cyprus problem, will be the proposals by Lord Radcliffe on the constitution being drafted." In the same speech he also said: "So long as EOKA exists, a cloud shall continue to cast its shadow on the island."¹⁵⁹

In the morning of the same day Harding was making his radio speech, the security forces arrested the Acting Ethnarch bishop Anthimos at the Archbishopric and confined him to the Bishop's Palace in Larnaca.

On 5 September 1956 the General Secretary of the Ethnarchy Council, Nikos Kranidiotis, was also arrested, having at first been transported to the Omorphita prison and later, on the 21st of September, to the Kokkintrimithia detention camp. There he became acquainted with the life of the prisoners, who remained enclosed behind barbed wire without trial indefinitely. Quite a few of them managed to escape. Nikos Kranidiotis noted:

"In spite of being closely guarded under strict police measures, many of those locked up in the camp managed to escape. One escaped hidden in a rubbish bin, which bribed Turkish wardens took outside the camp. Another bribed the English guards on the watch-towers, which facilitated his escape by blinding the opposite guards with the searchlights. The escapes resulted in stringent measures being taken in the camp, including a ban on visits for a fortnight or more, continuous confinement in-doors etc. The prisoners reacted to the measures by shouting, staging protests and uprisings that went as far as stoning the troops and setting fire to the barracks. What followed in such cases was horrible: Armed soldiers stormed the barracks and hit us with the butts of their weapons, on occasions throwing tear gas and firing into the air for intimidation."^{159a}

159. General George Grivas - Dighenis, "Memoirs...", p.129.

159a. Nikos Kranidiotis "Difficult Years...", pp. 223-224.

The bloody battle at the Nicosia Hospital on 31 August 1956

On many occasions EOKA planned the escape of political detainees or convicts. One such plan was put into effect in the morning of 31st August 1956 for the escape of Polycarpus Georkadjis, who was among the "specially detained persons" in the Nicosia Central Prison. A four-member EOKA team composed of Kyriakos Kolokasis, Ionas Nicolaou, Spyros Kyriakou and Nicos Sampson undertook this daring enterprise.

The team arrived at the Nicosia Hospital in two cars, with two girls also among the passengers carrying the guns to be used in the operation. In the morning Polycarpus Georkadjis had been transferred to the X-ray department of the hospital, feigning stomach pain. The examination had shown nothing wrong and the fighter was being led to the exit of the hospital, handcuffed to a Greek police guard. At that point the EOKA team attacked. The first to be hit was the English sergeant Demon, who was up in front. He staggered and fell to the ground, but as he had his finger on the trigger of his Sterling weapon, it went off in the direction of the fighters, killing Kyriakos Kolokasis. His cousin Ionas Nicolaou was severely wounded. Spyros Kyriakou was also injured and got arrested after the battle. He was later subjected to interrogation and ended up in the detention camps. Polycarpus Georkadjis was still tied to his guard, using him as a shield against the shots fired by an English soldier and a Turk. More English soldiers who were in the hospital yard joined the fray. Georkadjis finally managed to free himself from the manacles and his guard and fled to a Greek house, later to join up with the EOKA guerrillas. He was assigned the responsibility of the Marathasa guerilla band.

Nikos Sampson made a safe get-away, having taken with him Demon's gun. Demon was the executioner, who had carried out the death sentence on the first fighters to be sentenced to the gallows, Michalakis Karaolis and Andreas Demetriou.

Koullis Kyriakides, a hospital aide who happened to be on the scene, also lost his life in the battle.

All the fighters in this daring operation had displayed exceptional courage and bravery. An essential detail is, however, worth mentioning. Ionas Nicolaou, although wounded, dragged himself as far as the entrance to the corridor and using his pistol he fired at the English guards of the hospital, preventing them from getting inside and giving time to his companions to escape. And when he had fired all the bullets, he threw his weapon at the English, who then surrounded him and finished him off.

An attack against the central police station of Kyrenia on 8 September 1956

The attack against the police station of Kyrenia took place at 3 a.m. on 8 September 1956. It was one of the most daring operations of EOKA, since the police station was situated in the town centre with many military personnel and members of the secret service inside of it. Another 120 English soldiers and an auxiliary police unit were stationed inside the town castle, which was only a short distance from the police station. "Bren" machine guns were positioned on the castle and the entire area was illuminated.

In spite of his initial misgivings, Dighenis approved the final plan and wrote down his instructions: "Let the operation go ahead. Everything is possible when there is faith and courage. God be with you."¹⁶⁰

Twelve members of a task force led by Dinos Charalambous took part in the operation. The plan was drawn up following a detailed study of the prevailing conditions and was implemented with great success. The fighters were divided into three small groups. One of them took up positions in the garden opposite the police station in order to ward off the English soldiers that would rush to the help of the policemen from the castle. Another team was positioned at the garden wall to hold up a possible intervention by the mobile patrol from the rear. The third group with Dinos Charalambous stormed

160. General George Grivas-Dighenis, "Memoirs...", p. 135.

the station, shouting at the policemen to surrender. The first to do so were the Turkish auxiliaries who guarded the station. The fighters penetrated into the station returning the shots against them. In the end all eight Turkish policemen surrendered, only to be set free when everything was over. Two of the fighters were slightly injured in the attack. The whole operation was a surprise. EOKA secured two automatic Sterling weapons, three 0.38 calibre revolvers and over 500 bullets for the transport of which the help of two other members was needed.

The English troops in the castle heard the exchange of fire and a team of them immediately rushed to the aid of the policemen inside the station. The leader of the EOKA group, Dinos Charalambous, gave the following account of what ensued:

*"The three-member team that covered the west side from the garden opposite the Police station was waiting for them and laid out a welcome for them with a barrage of fire. The thunderous noise from the shotguns succeeded the explosions from the hand grenades. The English soldiers, who did not expect they would be running into such a coordinated resistance, took cover and began firing at the fighters. The other four-member EOKA team that was covering the southern access turned to reinforce their companions. The combined fire of EOKA pinned the soldiers down, but they continued the battle. The fighters who were inside the station then started also to pound the soldiers from the side and before long the area around the police station became a veritable battleground. In the face of this determined and well-planned attack, the English troops held their positions for ten minutes. Soon they started to retreat for regrouping, under cover from the military outposts on top of the fort and to enter the Venetian castle that offered them adequate cover and safety."*¹⁶¹

After the battle was over, the fighters withdrew unharmed, full of national pride for having successfully completed such a difficult

161. George Grivas-Dighenis, "Chronicle...", p. 236.

task. This battle had once again proved the great importance of courage and surprise against the material superiority of the enemy. The newspapers reported the story under such banner headlines as *"Kyrenia under the control of EOKA," "EOKA conquered Kyrenia!"*

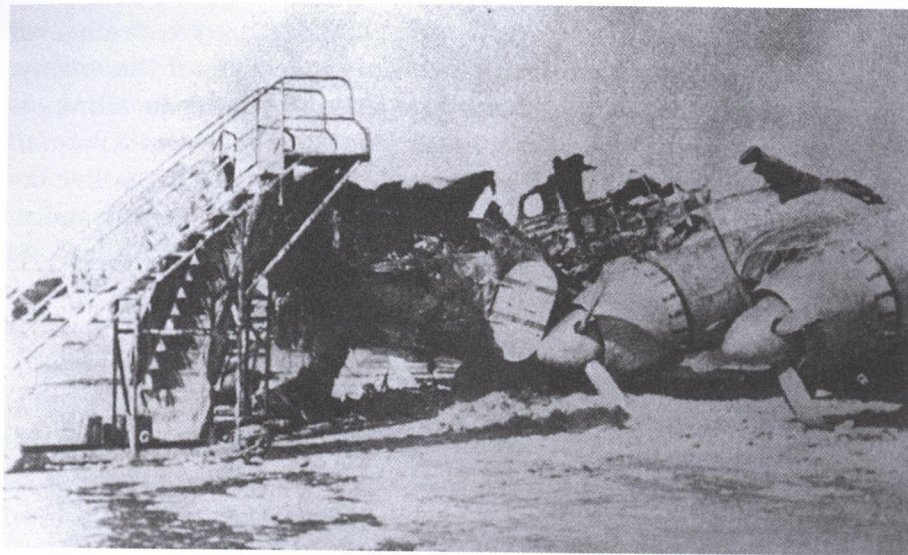
English experts, as well as officers of the army and the police believed that the daring operation was the work of Greek commandos. It was impossible for them to imagine that most of the attackers were pupils of the Kyrenia Gymnasium.

Seven high-ranking EOKA members escape from Kokkinotrimithia camp

On 13 September 1956, seven high-ranking EOKA members escaped from the detention camp at Kokkinotrimithia and were placed on the wanted list with a reward of five thousand pounds each on their head. Their names were: Kyriakos Matsis, Michael Giorgallas, Pheidias Symeonides, Evagoras Papachristoforou, Yiannakis Epaminondas, Tefkros Loizou, Panayiotis Aristidou. They made their escape when M. Giorgallas cut the barbed wire fence.

Sabotage action at the air force base of Akrotiri on 23 September 1956

Dighenis ordered the Limassol section command of EOKA to destroy the runway of the Akrotiri airport in September 1956, because the English and the French were preparing for joint air attacks against Suez. The operation posed huge difficulties as the strict security measures taken by the English created conditions far from favourable. The obstacles were finally overcome. An EOKA member managed to smuggle four time-bombs into the airport, by hiding them in a basket of grapes. Two of the bombs were placed in the asphalt mixers of one corridor and the other two in a sewer. The sewer had a 90 cm diameter. The fighter fastened the bombs around his neck and dragged himself on his back for six hours before reaching his target. The explosions occurred at midnight on 23 September 1956 and opened two big craters in between the corridors, putting them out of operation for 25 days.



British airplanes were blown up in the air base of Akrotiri on 26 November 1957.



The British occupation forces rounded up workers at Akrotiri within barbed wire for questioning, after the blowing up of the British airplanes.

The English carry out extensive searches for the discovery of Dighenis and EOKA guerrillas in October and November 1956 - "Black November" for the English - The troops rebel

Thousands of English soldiers searched various parts of Cyprus for the capture of Dighenis and EOKA guerrillas. In October and November 1956 the search operations covered the mountain ranges of Pentadaktylos and Troodos. During the same period EOKA shifted its activity to the military bases of Episkopi, Akrotiri and Dhekelia that shook with explosions. For security reasons the English in the towns were ordered to stay indoors.

Three thousand troops took part in the searches on the eastern part of Pentadaktylos from 4 to 11 October. On 11 October the military authorities announced the arrest of 31 EOKA men and the discovery of arms and ammunition. Thassos Sophocleous, section commander of Kyrenia and leader of the guerrilla groups on Pentadaktylos, was among those caught. Also arrested were Fotios Christofi, a band leader, and Andreas Charalambous, who had been proscribed for 5,000 pounds.

Other search operations in the Kyrenia - Myrtou area between 11-16 October yielded no results. Similar operations that began on 10 October in the area between the roads of Lefka-Pedoula-Kykkos-Pyrgos-Xeros also failed. Thousands of other soldiers including paratroopers combed the Kykko area on 25 October but found nothing. Extensive searches also took place in the beginning of November in the Troodos area. The English arrested three fighters who were on the wanted list. Fresh operations began on 24 November in the Solea - Marathasa area involving 3,000 soldiers but came to no avail.

Following the end of the truce on 27 August 1956, EOKA continued its intensive activity. Dighenis noted on this point:

"Our blows continued with increased intensity without our power diminishing the least, causing grave concern to the English, who must have realized for certain that Harding's claims and those of the English Government, as well as of a section of the conservative press, that our truce proposal had been dictated by a weakness to continue action, were unfounded. The English themselves named

November 1956 as 'Black November' for their troops."^{161a}

The English casualties during November were 49 dead and 71 wounded. The English did not feel safe from the EOKA activity. On 10 October 1956 there was a mutiny of men at Nicosia airport and the B.B.C. reported on 4 December 1956 that reservists had revolted at Platres, later facing court martial.

Harding enforces new emergency measures- The reaction of Dighenis

Harding passed new emergency laws on 24 November 1956, by which the death sentence became the only penalty for a greater number of offences. The new provisions also effectively gagged the Cypriot Press.

Dighenis and the EOKA members reacted to the new measures with utter disdain. The leaflet below, distributed by Dighenis on 18 December 1956, gives an idea of the Cypriot reaction.

" THE LITTLE SATRAP TRIES IN VAIN

Since his army, his police, the mobilized hooligans of the auxiliary police, the special constabulary, the Intelligence Service, the murders, the ransacking, the brutalities and money have not succeeded in breaking the resistance of the freedom patriots, the little satrap of Cyprus is resorting to the immoral means, afforded him by the right of the occupier.

He keeps making more oppressive laws. Death, he cries, to all who have in their possession military material. Tomorrow we shall hear for sure: Death to all the Greeks. The little satrap is stupid if he thinks that with such trashy pieces of papers he will force us to take pity on him and cease our action.

When we raised the standard of our movement, we knew that we had to face an empire and the immoral law of the oppressor. We knew that some would be sent to the gallows. But we believed that right was on our side and that we would win. And WE HAVE WON.

^{161a}. General George Grivas-Dighenis, "Memoirs...", pp. 136-137.

He is therefore striving in vain if he thinks that by swaying before us the threat of the gallows we shall stop. To the contrary, our war shall be more ferocious. The intensity of our activity is due to the fact that there is no understanding on the part of the enemy. Besides, we warned him. But he mistook our warning for a mere threat.

EOKA does not make threats, it carries out that which it promises. And now we say that the fight shall become more ferocious and employ more means, as long as the enemy does not come to his senses and does not recognize our just demand.

But the little satrap is cynically impudent when he accuses us of murdering innocent civilians, he who has in his record the cold-blooded murders of women and children, of prisoners and so many vandalisms.

Was the presumptuous Williamson, whom we killed, innocent, who was an important member of the Intelligence Service, accompanying the army in all its expeditions to Troodos and all the Greeks of the area knew him? One who tolerated the soldiers to set their dog hounds onto the church altar and slobber all over the venerable icon of the Kykko Virgin!!! What we are saying are neither lies nor exaggerations.

Was the also presumptuous Bevan innocent, a doctor, in whose face and under whose white overall there was hidden a scoundrel of the Intelligence Service, of which he was a prominent member in the Amiandos area, having replaced Halliday after he was wounded last year?

Were the two murdered special constables of the 'Astra' firm innocent? Was the other Englishman killed in Limassol innocent, also an Intelligence Service man?

We state that anyone armed by the oppressor or in his service and against our movement, shall be considered our enemy and shall be executed. In these categories are included: the army, the police, the special constabulary, the agents of the Intelligence Service and the traitors, to WHICHEVER RACE OR CREED they may belong.

Any civilian who does not belong to the above categories shall come

to no harm whatsoever, even if he does not assist our struggle.
Sir John Harding: the Cypriot patriots of freedom write your laws under the soles of their old shoes, because this is how much they are worth, and they step onto the gallows you have set up holding their head high, with a smile on their faces and the last words they cry are 'LONG LIVE THE FREEDOM OF CYPRUS.' For they are Greeks. You are incapable of assessing such values and such heroic personalities.

E.O.K.A. The Leader Dighenis.^{161b}

Fighters are subjected to horrible torture - The death of tortured EOKA members - Complaints to international bodies - Who were the main torturers

In order to obtain information about EOKA, the English subjected arrested fighters to horrible, inhuman and prolonged torture, in some cases resulting in death. Most of the tortured EOKA members survived, but 13 of them died.

In November 1956 the security forces tortured to death two fighters, Georgios Nicolaou from Kato Pyrgos (on 12 November) and Andreas Panayiotou from Polystypos (on 19 November). Two more of the tortured fighters died in 1957, Nikos Georgiou from Palaechori and Theodosios Hadjitheodosiou from Styloi in the Famagusta district. During 1958 the following nine fighters also died of torture:

Vasilis Alexandrou from Limnati, Nikolaos Yiangou from Pano Zodia, Loukas Louka from Ayia Napa, Prodromos Xenofontos from Agridaki, Platon Stylianou from Vouni, Stelios Tritaios from Pyrgos in the Tylliria region, Spyros Hadjiyiakoumis from Kythrea, Georgios Christoforou from Emba, Panayiotos Chrysostomou from Styloi.

The oppressive measures and the tortures did not yield the expected results for the English rulers. To the contrary, they succeeded in strengthening the will of the people to keep on fighting.

161b. Spyros Papageorgiou, " The archives of underground documents," pp. 75-77.

Dighenis was correct in observing that "genuine revolutionary movements expressed by the will of the people to live free or die cannot be put down by hangings, bayonets or torture, but only by rendering freedom. The struggle in Cyprus has proved this great truth, it overturned military theories about might based on the great numerical superiority of the enemy and underlined the absolute superiority of moral forces."^{161c}

It is worth mentioning here that two English officers, Gerald O' Driscoll and Roben Lindsee, who were found guilty of torturing fighters by the court, were dismissed from the army. Nevertheless, torture continued to be used by English specialists who employed scientific means and remained unaccountable. A depiction of how the fighters were tortured is given in the book "Violation of rights in Cyprus," which the Cyprus Ethnarchy published in New York.

Dighenis also wrote about the tortures:

"Cyprus was filled with interrogation centres at which English interrogators assisted by Turks applied every kind of maltreatment on arrested men and women, with the purpose of extracting information or out of sheer vengeance. The tortures kept being perfected, as it is proven by the depositions of the victims, and were later organized on a scientific basis, being carried out by experienced English interrogators in the presence of English doctors, who watched not in order to offer medical help to the victims but to monitor their endurance. Consequently, torture was not the work of a few hotheaded English interrogators, but it must have been carried out with the approval of the British Government, which supplied the detention centres with the necessary 'torture equipment.'^{161d}

The methods used by the torturers on arrested fighters included psychological pressure, blackmail, stripping, beating, punching and kicking in various parts of the body, flogging, blows in the stomach, hitting and pulling the genitals, artificial drowning, artificial stran-

161c. General George Grivas - Dighenis, "Memoirs...", p. 148.

161d. George Grivas-Dighenis, "Chronicle," p.92.

gulation, strong lights that generated intense heat and affected the sight, electric shock. All these caused intolerable pain, fainting, mental breakdown, bodily injury and even death.

Ordinarily torture did not succeed to break the fighters and they gave no information to their interrogators. Yiannis Spanos wrote the following about the moral courage and greatness of the tortured fighters:

*"The English torturers tried many things to break the nerves of men, to crush their moral resistance, to degrade them. But these men, the fighters of EOKA, the ones loyal to the Greek motherland endured. They did not bend. The agony may have creased their faces permanently. Their psychological traumas may not have healed. But the fighters of Dighenis, those who were motivated by the power of faith, who were conscious of their duty and their mission, made no compromises with fear, they did not compromise with the cruelty of the situation. They remained upright, they remained uncompromising, proud and triumphant, living examples in history, to teach the next generations how the dignity of man is safeguarded, how peoples must fight for their freedom."*¹⁶²

A Human Rights Committee was set up in Cyprus to monitor and report to the outside world about tortures and other atrocities the English committed during the liberation struggle. Legal personalities in Greece and Bar Associations in many of its cities made strong protestations and launched complaints with international bodies or at conferences about the English outrages and abuses in Cyprus.

The Greek Government compiled a Black Book on the ill treatment of Cypriot prisoners and the violations of the human rights of the Cypriot population, which was deposited at the Council of Europe. The European Organisation sent a sub-committee to the island in the beginning of January 1958, for a field inquiry into the complaints.

162. Yiannis Chr. Spanos, "EOKA - This is how Greeks fight," vol. 2, p.62.

The main torturers of the fighters were:

- 1) Police superintendent **Green** of Scotland Yard, responsible for the Nicosia investigation department.
- 2) Police lieutenant **MacEvoy**, assistant head of Special Branch, Nicosia, later head of Special Branch at Lefka.
- 3) Colonel **McGowan**, head of the notorious Omorphita police station.
- 4) Police Inspector **Matthew**, one of the instructors of the mobile Turkish auxiliary police.
- 5) **Merlin**. He was born in Corfu of a Greek mother and spoke fluent Greek. He came to Cyprus on a special contract. He was the closest aide of Macowan's. He became notorious for his hard punches at the Omorphita detention centre.
- 6) Police Superintendent **Burge**, responsible for the Nicosia Special Branch. He was at the head of torturers Leeds, Willard, Souleiman Mehmet Gildirim, Mehmet Karafalot, Taxin Ali Rizah, Talat, Ergun and of three Greek traitors.
- 7) Officer **Savory**, responsible for the Special Branch at Platres. He was the most ruthless torturer of fighters, some of whom died at his hands.
- 8) Assistant superintendent **Chastler**, positioned at the notorious Turkish auxiliary police.
- 9) Superintendent **Barlow**, responsible for Special Branch, successor to Burge.
- 10) Captain **Bean**, of the Intelligence Service. He served at Special Branch, Nicosia.
- 11) **Predecast**, director general of Special Branch and the secret police in Cyprus.
- 12) **Mehmet Asim Erol**, station master at the Turkish village of Louroujina, a police inspector in 1958, he was a high ranking member of the Turkish Cypriot terrorist organization T.M.T. He had been a protagonist in the massacre of 9 Greeks from Kontemenos in 1958 in collaboration with the Englishman Chastler.
- 13) **Suleiman Mehmet Gildirim**, close associate of Burge's at the Nicosia Special Branch, where he was the most fearsome torturer.

Some Greeks were also close associates of the torturers, such as Georgios Isaiah, assistant and confidential adviser to the Head of Special Branch, Agapios Papaconstantinou, second police lieutenant, close aide to Burge and to the Head of the Investigation Department, Small, and Apostolos Papaconstantinou, assistant inspector and Head of the investigation departments in Larnaca district.¹⁶³

We refer below to the case of the fighter Fotis Pittas, who for many days was cruelly and inhumanely tortured:

Fotis Pittas (1935-1958) was initiated to EOKA and joined the Organisation while a student at the Teachers' College in Morphou. He worked as a teacher at the primary school of Achna village, where he became very active in the armed section of EOKA and also in the organizational and propaganda fields. He was proscribed by the English on 18 October 1956 and arrested on 10 January 1957. He was taken to the Famagusta police station, where he was held for 22 days. There he was subjected to unspeakable tortures. He was later transferred to the Kokkinotrimithia detention camp and then to that of Pyla, from where he escaped on 12 March 1958 with three of his companions. He operated effectively in the area of Lysi, Famagusta district, until 2 September 1958, when he fell fighting heroically against the English at the Liopetri barn along with three other EOKA braves.

During his detention at the Famagusta police station he recorded in chronological order the inhuman tortures used on him, as well as his mental experiences. He wrote in the page margins of the book "From the Source of Truth," which he studied for his spiritual exercise.

The following are extracts from what that heroic EOKA fighter wrote:

"Thursday 10-1-57

The police arrested me...at 4 a.m. Beating from 5 a.m. until 11 a.m. at the Famagusta station. In the afternoon 3-5 and 9-11p.m. beating.

¹⁶³. George Grivas-Dighenis "Chronicle...", pp. 101-105, Yiannis Chr. Spanos "EOKA - this is how Greeks fight," vol.2, pp. 58-60.

Dear, Liguít, Roman (Marios), Osman and others (Note: the names of English and Turkish torturers). A day of horror, agony, pain. Broken ribs. Powers paralysed. Blood in my urine. Cold.

Friday 11-1-57

I was too weak to cover myself with the blankets. Terrible pains. Beating from 8-10 a.m. and 3-5 p.m. I haven't eaten anything since Wednesday. Only water. I can hardly walk. I groan day and night because of pain. Every move I make is a moan. I lie down using bread for pillow. I pull my hair with my hand in order to be able to raise my head.

Sunday 13-1-57

I hear the bell of the St George Exorinos toll. My heart beats, it rejoices. I pray to the Almighty to help me, give me courage to endure the ordeal. I pray that He strengthen me. To make me live in order to see Cyprus free. A day of agony. They come into the cell in the afternoon, they threaten me.

Tuesday 15-1-57

A night that I shall remember all my life... At 11 a.m. they took me to the office where I found what they told me I would: Two electric lights of very high intensity. They forced me to sit until the rose-fingered dawn in front of them. At a distance of 12-15 inches. Heat. They roasted me slowly. Crust formed on my lips.

Wednesday 16-1-57

My sweat flows incessantly. I feel powerful headaches. They are describing horror scenes to me. That they will hang me etc. I pass out. They throw water on me. I regain consciousness. Two Turkish auxiliaries take me back to the cell, supporting me under the arms. They did not let me sleep all day Tuesday. Tuesday and Wednesday were days of terror, interrogations and agony.

Sunday 20-1-57

The joyful church bell woke me up. I pray, I begin to chant hymns. Whatever I knew and could remember from the church service. In the evening I chanted patriotic songs.

Tuesday 22-1-57

As they take me out morning and noon ...and in the night, I hear the

rending cries of people being interrogated. Surely they are working them over in the same brutal way they did with me.

Sunday 27-1-57

After the morning religious chants and psalms that I knew, I began toying with the idea of drawing something on the wall. The inspiration came. It would be Liberty with a drawn sword and the flag high up.^{163a}

It is worth noting here that Fotis Pittas did realize his inspiration. The fighter did not have any drawing means at his disposal, but he painted Liberty on the wall of his cell with the blood that he spat because of his horrible tortures.

The death of Michael Georgallas

Michael Georgallas (1936-1956), an EOKA member since 1954, took prominent part in the demonstrations of the Pancyprian Gymnasium. He later joined the execution squad of Nicosia and became very active in other operations, on account of which he was arrested and sentenced to eight months imprisonment. He was transferred to the Kokkinotrimithia detention camp from where he escaped on 13 September with six other fighters, having cut the barbed wire fence. Georgallas joined up with the team of Gregoris Afxentiou and stood out for his courage, his fighting spirit, his initiative, moral fortitude and Christian ethos. Afxentiou assigned to him the task of organizing a counter espionage ring in a large area. At the same time he assisted Stylianos Lenas in manufacturing bombs.

On 30 December 1956, Afxentiou and his band were at Zoopigi village in Limassol district. Michael Georgallas was one of the group members. On the night of 30th to 31st December, three Cypriot informers and two Turkish Cypriot auxiliary policemen raided the house of Menas Mena, an EOKA member, who was under pressure and threats from the agents of the English to reveal secrets of the Organisation. He had no way out but to ask for help. Gregoris Afxen-

163a. Nicolaos P. Vasiliades, op. cit., pp. 191-194.

tiou and Michael Georgallas rushed to his rescue. Shots were exchanged, slightly injuring Afxentiou and killing Georgallas. Before he died he cried out to Afxentiou: "My captain, my captain, I am dying, long live Gree..." He didn't have time to finish the word "Greece." Afxentiou and his band fled the same night into the mountainous area of Papoutsas.

Afxentiou later wrote to the EOKA leader: "*I was very much distressed by the unexpected death of the excellent fighter Georgallas.*"

Dighenis described Georgallas as "*a brave man, a selfless and spirited fighter.*"¹⁶⁴

The New Year 1957 finds EOKA in full strength, ready to continue the struggle for the liberation of Cyprus

1956 had been a year of many heroic deeds by EOKA. In 1957 the freedom fighters of Cyprus continued their struggle with obstinacy and endurance to overthrow the English yoke.

The following leaflet by PEKA that was distributed on New Year's Day, showed the spirit prevailing in the minds of the fighters:

*" WHAT THE PAST YEAR SAW AND WHAT THE NEW ONE WILL SEE
The year is over. Reviewing it we feel proud. All of us. From the farmer to the clerk, from the businessman and the patient and firm labourers of the rear guard to the heroic fighters in the front line. We are not boasting. We simply verify the events. We are ascertaining true reality.*

The Cypriot people have stood up against cold-blooded violence and inhuman tyranny and with their brave attitude they honoured the sacred tradition of our race. 1957 finds them in high national morale, with their fighting spirit stronger than it has ever been. The entire free world pronounces the name of the Cypriot people with respect and admiration. For the free world knows, humanity knows the quality and the means of our enemies, it knows the history of our peo-

164. General George Grivas-Dighenis, "Memoirs...", p. 152.

ple. It also knows that there are no terrorists and criminals in Cyprus, but honest, selfless and ideological fighters, who offer their lives for the most priceless of goods, Freedom.

The year is over. But in its passing it saw a lot. It saw the English strangle, trample upon the freedom of peoples and individuals. It saw them send to exile the defender of justice and morality, the idol of the Cypriot people, our adored Ethnarch. It saw them lead our boys to the gallows, shoot innocent civilians, torture, imprison. It saw the most insane intransigence in the policy of the Tories. It saw them use the scum of the Turkish minority in every kind of vandalism. In one word, it saw the deliberate effort to annihilate the Cypriot people. Executions, curfews, collective fines, medieval torture, imprisonments, every kind of barbarity, this is what Eden, Boyd and Harding have added to the pages of English history during 1956. And what did we contribute to our history? Our honourable struggle. We faced everything with fortitude. We endured everything with determination. Because we know full well that freedom cannot be won without sacrifices.

Gone, the year is over. But in its passing it also saw the fighting spirit of the Cypriot people increase. It saw its love for freedom grow. It saw the fighting ranks of the patriots swell. It saw the contradiction of Harding's ridiculous statement, who on 1st January 1956 publicly said on the Cyprus radio that EOKA had only a few days to live. This year he has forgotten the political matters of the country and remembered the farmers. What happened to his optimism of yester year?

A few days have passed, weeks have passed, months, the year has passed and instead of EOKA being mortally struck by the Marshal, it has to the contrary grown and strengthened and disgraced the bloodthirsty little satrap.

This is what last year has witnessed in its passing.

It is up to us what the New Year will see. And we promise that we shall make it see true freedom embrace our island.

HAPPY NEW YEAR AND HAPPY FREEDOM

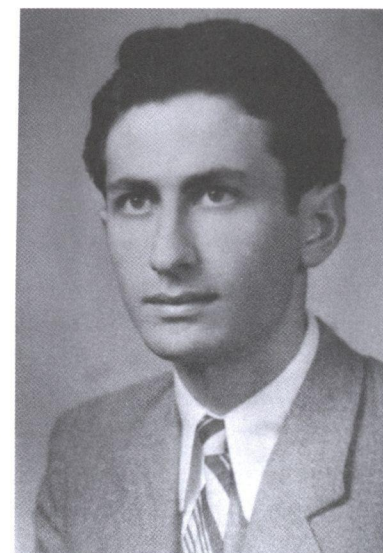
P.E.K.A.^{164a}

164a. "An anthology of texts for the EOKA Struggle 1955-1959," pp. 67-68.

The death of Markos Drakos

Markos Drakos (1932-1957) was a graduate of the Samuel Commercial School in Nicosia. He had been a member of OHEN, of SEK and of PEON. He worked for the cultivation of religious and national ideals. He joined EOKA during the preparation stage of the Struggle and as squad leader he was in charge of the attack against the installations of the Cyprus Broadcasting Corporation on 1st April 1955. His activity in the EOKA campaign continued unabated, but on 30 June 1955 he was arrested by the English and kept in the Nicosia Central Prison before being transferred on 15 July as a political prisoner to Kyrenia castle. On 23 September 1955 he escaped with 15 other companions.

He fled to the Kykko mountains where he formed the first guerrilla group. The English put him on the wanted list with a 5,000 pound reward on his head, as they did with many other proscribed fighters. He led many operations against the enemy, including the ambush of 15 December 1955 at Mersinaki, where Charalambos Mouskos fell. Markos Drakos was wounded in the battle but managed to escape. Between 15 and 16 January 1957 he was forced to abandon his hideout in the Kalopanayiotis area and go to the Solea section, as the English



Markos Drakos

had started extensive search operations following a tip by informers. On the night of 18th to 19th January he fell into an English ambush as he tried to break the army cordon. His companion Tefkros Loizou, who lived through the dramatic moments of that night, said the following:

" Three times we came across English soldiers. The first time we exchanged fire. The second we didn't. The weather was very bad. In the streak of a lightning, Markos Drakos and an English soldier spot-

ted and shot at each other. I was next to him. I saw him fall. The rest of us changed direction and managed to get away."¹⁶⁵

Dighenis wrote about Markos Drakos:

"He was an idealist, honest, selfless and brave fighter...His death had deprived me of an excellent comrade- in - arms and Cyprus of one of its children, which would have been useful not only in the liberation struggle but also in the creative work for progress and prosperity that would need to be done after it was over. I was immensely saddened by this."^{165a}

Markos Drakos was the kind of young man that stood out for his religious faith and his love for the freedom of Cyprus. This is testified to by his life and work. In the hideout of his band there were books of religious and national content. There was only one motto to remind his men that they should take courage:

"Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil: for thou art with me." (Psalm 23.4)

He studied the Holy Bible with his companions and analysed for them the meanings of the extract they read, instilling courage to them for the EOKA struggle. His companion, Polycarpus Georkadjis, made the following noteworthy remarks about the prayers of Markos Drakos:

*"He would kneel every afternoon under a pine tree and pray in deep faith. He asked for God's help about people, about Greece, about Cyprus and the Struggle. He prayed for his companions, for himself, for his family. And when he had finished, he would re-enter the cave looking as if he had shed his material lot, joyous and happy for the silent talk he had with God... He prayed more fervently and persistently before the battle."*¹⁶⁶

165. "The martyred heroes of EOKA," p. 30.

165a. General George Grivas-Dighenis, "Memoirs...", p.154.

166. Nicolaos P. Vasiliades, op. cit., p. 92 .

The English carry out operations in January 1957 against the guerrilla groups of Pitsilia - The members of two bands are arrested by treachery

On 17 January 1957 the English began operations in the Pitsilia region for the capture or annihilation of EOKA guerrilla groups. Paid traitors played their dirty part and the members of two groups were arrested inside their hideouts without having the chance to defend themselves. One of the teams was in the area of Kannavia village and the other was hiding in a house at Omodos. It was a serious blow for EOKA. Dighenis confronted the situation calmly. He took care to boost the morale of the fighters by issuing the following order:

*" Losses are a natural consequence in a struggle. Every fight is a succession of successes and failures, but the final victor emerges the morally stronger, who knows how to overcome obstacles and impose his will on the enemy."*¹⁶⁷

This was followed by another order in which he gave instructions for continuous alert and activity, so as not to strengthen the enemy's impression that the recent losses had affected the EOKA Struggle.

Gregoris Afxentiou who commanded the bands in Pitsilia and Troodos succeeded with two other fighters to break through the cordon of military operations. He briefed the EOKA leader on what had transpired and stressed:

*"I am well aware of the extent of our mishaps. But we shall not stoop. On the contrary, we shall throw ourselves into the fight with more stubbornness in order to make up for the vacuities created. Our faith in victory is unshakeable."*¹⁶⁸

The death of the fighters Demetrios Christodoulou, Soteris Tsangaris and Stylianos Lenas

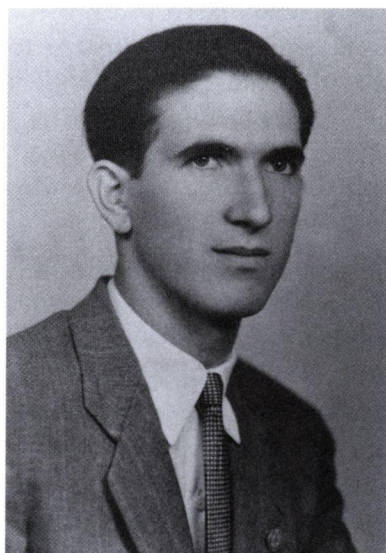
On 17 February 1957, the guerrilla team of Stylianos Lenas fell into an English ambush between the villages of Potamitissa and Pelandri. A fight ensued in which Demetrios Christodoulou, known as

167. General George Grivas - Dighenis, "Memoirs...", pp. 154-155.

168. General George Grivas-Dighenis, "Memoirs...", p. 155.

Demetrakis, and Soteris Tsangaris were killed. Lenas was captured, seriously wounded. The fourth member of the team, Panayiotis Aristidou, managed to escape using Lenas' weapon.

Stylianos Lenas (1932-1957) had been one of the first five squad leaders of Nicosia. He was active with his team in the attacks of 1st April 1955, when he blew up Wolseley Barracks in Nicosia. In August 1955 he went to Lysi, where he took over the training of the sabotage teams of the Famagusta section. After that he fled to Pen-



Stylianos Lenas

tadaktylos, joining up with Gregoris Afxentiou. Lenas went with Afxentiou when the latter took over the command of the Pitsilia section. In August 1956 he was appointed commander of one of the four sub-sections created in Pitsilia. While on the wanted list he took part in several operations against the English. He distinguished himself in the manufacture of hand grenades and explosive devices, especially in the making of MK2 grenades. Following his arrest, the English transferred him to the Akrotiri hospital, where he died on 28 March 1957. He was buried in the little cemetery of the Nicosia Central Prison, as the English feared

his death might provoke public demonstrations.

Stylianos Lenas had been an important member of OHEN in Nicosia. His active participation in the EOKA struggle did not prevent him from leading a Christian life.

Dighenis wrote about the hero:

*"Lenas was a god-fearing man and a good Christian."*¹⁶⁹

Nicolaos Vasiliades spoke in more detail about Lenas' religious life:

169. George Grivas - Dighenis "Chronicle," p. 567.

*"Being constantly on the move, the hard life of an EOKA member, the unforeseen difficulties posed no obstacle to Lenas observing his religious duties. He fasted every Wednesday and Friday and throughout all the periods of abstinence. He did not want and neither tolerated his men to utter improper words and use bad language. At whatever house he stayed, he spoke fervently about Christ and the greatness of Christian life. He never parted with the Holy Bible even for a moment. He studied it regularly by himself or with his men and drew strength and endurance from it."*¹⁷⁰

The heroic death of Gregoris Afxentiou (1928-1957)

One of the most dramatic and heroic events of EOKA was the death of Gregoris Afxentiou, first section commander of Famagusta. He later commanded the Pentadaktylos section and that of Pitsilia. He was a valuable associate of Dighenis, both in the preparatory stage of the Struggle and during the campaign operations. He had attended the School of Reserve Army Officers in Greece and served in the Greek army with the rank of second reserve lieutenant.

Following an act of betrayal on 3 March 1957, English troops surrounded his hideout, situated near the Machairas Monastery. There were four other EOKA fighters in the same hideout, namely Andreas Stylianou, Avgoustes Efstathiou, Antonis Papadopoulos and Feidias Symeonides. On the order of Afxentiou, his companions came out of their hiding place. He held his position, determined to fight to the death and ignoring the suggestions of the Eng-



Gregoris Afxentiou disguised as a monk at Machairas monastery

170. Nicolaos P. Vasiliades, op.cit., p. 137.

lish to surrender. After a grenade was hurled against the hideout, wounding Afxentiou slightly on the neck and the knee, the English again called on him to give up.

As they received no reply, they sent Avgoustes to check if Afxentiou had died or was still alive. When Avgoustes entered the hideout, he shouted to the English: "Come, we are two now." Then the battle of the two fighters against the soldiers began, with the latter twice trying to storm the hideout but being forced to retreat.

Afxentiou decided to attempt an exodus from the hideout. He ordered Avgoustes to use the only smoke grenade they had. Avgoustes would go first shooting at the soldiers and Afxentiou would follow. Avgoustes threw the smoke grenade but his gun failed to fire immediately as the safety catch was on. In this way valuable time was lost and the sortie was cancelled. The two fighters continued the battle from inside the hideout. They planned to prolong the fight until nightfall when it would be easier for them to get away under cover of darkness. The English however preferred to end things differently. They poured petrol over the hideout, set fire to it and burned Afxentiou alive. Avgoustes managed to crawl out of the hideout. He survived with burns on his face.

Afxentiou had been a very brave fighter. He fought for eight hours from his hideout, composed and unyielding against a multitude of soldiers who had at their disposal an abundance of military weapons.

Dighenis wrote about his death:

*"Glory has elevated him very high, since with his incomparable sacrifice he wrote one of the most beautiful pages in the age-long Greek History. His hideout shall remain the most sacred place of pilgrimage for those who worship freedom. And his heroic death will be a shining example to future generations."*¹⁷¹

Many literary writers praised the holocaust of Gregoris Afxentiou for the freedom of Cyprus. One of the first poems to be written was under the title "Verses for Gregoris Afxentiou." It was written by

171. General George Grivas-Dighenis, "Memoirs....," p. 164.



The front-page news about the sacrifice of the hero Gregoris Afxentiou.

philologist Yiannis Papadopoulos, himself a wanted fighter of EOKA, and was published under the pen name of "Mnason Apostolou" in the underground magazine of the EOKA Youth "Egertirion Salpisma" in February 1958. Quoted below are some of the verses of this most beautiful poem:

*"And the almond trees of Machairas, fearless and impatient,
opened their blossoms to the sun of Freedom.
Those who will live shall taste of the almonds.
An eternal scent and a shroud the blossoms will be for the others.*

*This is no beehive humming for early flowers.
They are iron crows flapping their wings,
Crowing after youth that blossoms even underground.
Today everything ends and everything begins.
The soul takes on the iron and the soul shall win.*

*Others must live but one has to die.
Before the battle one must comb
His hair for the last time like Leonidas,
Alone, without the three hundred,
He must hail the sun like another Ajax
And then shout at Death that awaits him.
Molon labe.*

Dagger-smitten Virgin, have you ever seen such an offering before? (Transl.n. 8)

*Has such a tall candle ever melted for your Grace?
Have you ever heard just two words rise over rumbling thunder?
Have you ever seen a smile mock such a multitude of arms?*¹⁷²

The British propaganda in Cyprus wanted to belittle the spirit of Afxentiou's sacrifice. The radio broadcasting station in Nicosia, under the control of the Governor, in a commentary described the heroic death of the fighter as an "act of desperation." This description met with indignation not only from Cypriots but also from foreigners. The Nicosia newspaper "Times of Cyprus" published a letter signed by Phyllis Tuft, an English woman. An extract from it said:

*"Naturally I do not like EOKA. But when someone is cut off and must die or surrender and he freely chooses to fight, he alone against an unknown number of troops, knowing his death to be inevitable, then he is a brave man in any language. His bravery merits the respect which has always surrounded the manifestation of courage throughout the history of mankind."*¹⁷³

**Petrakis Kyprianou (1939-1957), a teenager,
sacrifices himself fighting for the liberation of Cyprus.**

Petrakis Kyprianou was born in Larnaca. He became a member of

Transl. note 8: The icon of the Virgin at Machairas monastery is associated with a knife - machaira

172. Yiannis K. Papadopoulos, "Collection," Athens 1966, p. 93.

173. Nikos Kranidiotis, "Cyprus in the Struggle for Freedom," p. 143.

EOKA when still a pupil at the third grade of the American Academy. He participated in the liberation struggle of his country in various ways: distributing EOKA leaflets, putting up the Greek flag and rousing his fellow pupils to demonstrations. On account of his activity he was temporarily suspended from school. He then joined the combat groups and the execution squad in his town. On 23 September 1956 he took part in the execution of an English sergeant and was identified. He escaped arrest and fled as a guerrilla in the mountain region of his district. In his new capacity he joined various missions and attacks against the security forces.

On 21 March 1957 he was at Ora village. He had been instructed by his section commander to construct a hideout in that area. Three thousand English troops surrounded the village looking for him. He fought bravely and sacrificed himself to the freedom of his country. The following words of praise have been written about his death:

*"Petrakis Kyprianou consciously chose to fight, knowing this meant certain death. Barricaded in a disused house at which he had sought shelter, he fought for two-and-a-half hours with a shotgun and 27 cartridges, his entire arsenal. When he had used the last cartridge he attempted a sortie, aiming to break the ring of soldiers. But they were all over and they shot and killed him. He was the first EOKA guerrilla to follow the example of Afxentiou's sacrifice, which had preceded his by only a few days, on 3 March."*¹⁷⁴

Death had severed the life of Petrakis Kyprianou before he had completed his 18th birthday. His last words were:

"Tell my mother not to be sad because her son has died for his country."

His parents faced the sacrifice of their child like true Greeks. When his father saw the dead body of his son, he said: "Your blood is worthy of your country, my child." And his mother echoed the Spartan women before his coffin at the funeral service when she ut-

174. "The martyred heroes of EOKA," p. 29.

tered: " This is how I wanted you, my son, to come to me as a hero, not as a traitor."¹⁷⁵

2. THE HANGINGS OF EOKA HEROES

The hangings of nine martyred heroes of EOKA during this period constituted the most breathtaking aspect of the Struggle and at the same time showed to the whole world the noble ideals for which the fighters were striving.

The hanging of Michalakis Karaolis and Andreas Demetriou

EOKA fighters Michalakis Karaolis and Andreas Demetriou were hung on 10 May 1956, after hearing confession and taking the Holy Communion.

Michalakis Karaolis (1933-1956) was born in Palaechori, Nicosia district. He was a graduate of the English School. He had become an EOKA member even before the 1st April 1955 and contributed a lot

to the Struggle. He took part in many bomb attacks and was a member of the first execution squad of Nicosia. On 28 August 1955, Michalakis



Michalakis Karaolis

Karaolis and another fighter were assigned the execution of policeman Herodotos Pullis, a close collaborator of the English. The two fighters carried out their task as ordered and they then disappeared. Karaolis was arrested while being promoted to the Kyrenia region, where he was to join Afxentiou's team. On 28 October 1955, he was sentenced to death by hanging, although he had not been directly responsible for the killing of Herodotos

175. George Grivas-Digenis "Chronicle...", p. 382.

Poullis. EOKA tried to organize his escape during his detention at the Nicosia Central Prison, but without success.

Michalakis Karaolis was deeply religious and a fervent patriot. He faced his ordeal with admirable moral courage and was perfectly calm before the gallows. The letters he wrote from his prison cell reflected his spiritual grandeur. An extract from such a letter to his brother Andreas, dated 8 May 1956, revealed the richness of Karaolis' inner world:

"I was very gratified to see you write to me that you have begun to view life and yourself from another angle and that you have discovered a sweet and divine power drawing you near and tying you to the wondrous greatness of God, urging you to follow in His way. May the All Merciful prevail so that you will not stray from this path, which, although narrow and difficult, is the only one that leads to eternal bliss.

*It distresses me very much, my dear brother, that I have to sadden you with my news, but since God has saved this bitter cup for me, 'how can I not drink of it'? May the will of the Almighty be done."*¹⁷⁶

Andreas Demetriou (1934-1956) was born in the village of Ayios Mamas of Limassol district. He had worked in Famagusta and stood out for his diligence, his initiative and independent spirit. He was one of the first members of EOKA. His activity was impressive. He was the Secretary of the SEK Dock Workers Trade Union and he devised the seizure of a shipment of weapons from the army warehouse in the city port after they were unloaded and before being sorted out. The plan was successfully implemented on 20 October 1955. In this way the guerrilla bands of EOKA became equipped with brand new weapons. As a member of the Famagusta execution squad he tried to execute the English agent Sidney Montague Taylor, on 28 November 1955. He wounded him, but the armed guards of Taylor shot and wounded Andreas, capturing him. The court found him guilty and sentenced him to death by hanging.

176. Spyros Papageorgiou, "The Cyprus tempest 1955-1959," p. 240.

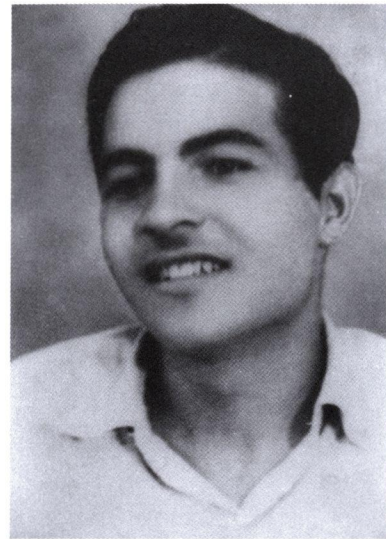
The last words Andreas Demetriou spoke to his mother before he was led to the gallows were:

"The only thing I am sorry about is that I shall not live to see our Cyprus free."

And she bid him farewell with these words:

"God speed you well, my son, and have courage to the end."¹⁷⁷

It is worth noting that during the imprisonment of the two fighters in death row the English soldiers maintained a provocative attitude. They deliberately made loud noises with their guns and boots.



Andreas Demetriou

Andreas Demetriou complained to the Director of Prisons in three letters, stating that he could not sleep. An extract from his third letter is the following:

"I am obliged for the third time to inform you by this letter that the soldiers continued their repeated harassment last night, even worse than they did before, and this because they have the constant support of the officers and sergeants."

In the same letter he said:

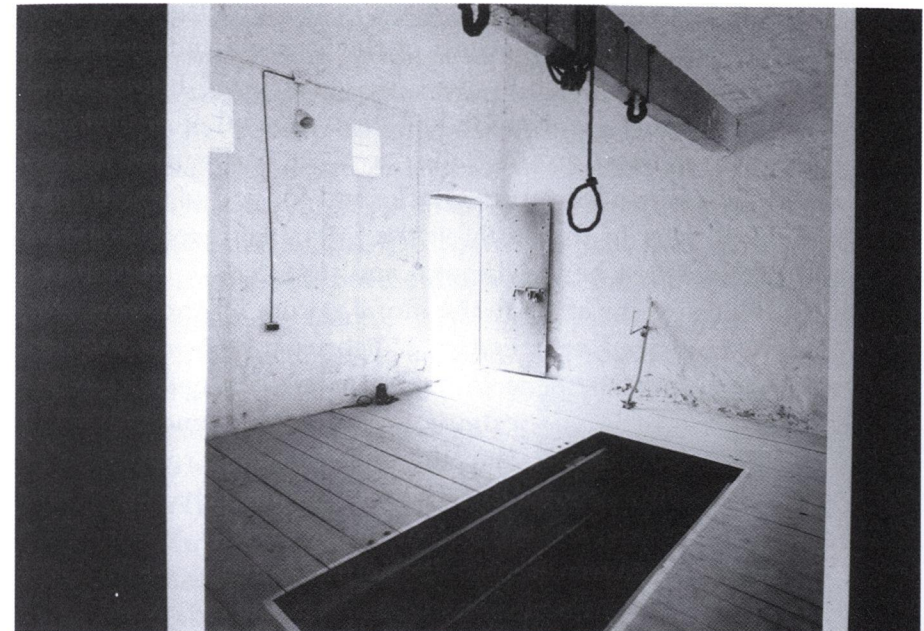
"Apart from their noisy walk, when they get tired they keep banging with their weapons on the floor and on our cell doors and they sing insultingly

thus: 'A rope is waiting for us round the corner, how pretty we shall look with a rope about our necks,' and other such insults."¹⁷⁸

Before the hanging of the two death convicts, Cypriots and mainland Greeks made several appeals for their sentence to be commuted but the English ignored them and proceeded to carry out their un-

177. "The martyred heroes of EOKA," p.29.

178. Yiannis Chr. Spanos, "EOKA - this is how the Greeks fight," volume 1, p. 301.



Central Prisons: The gallows

godly deed in the early hours of 10 March 1956. The two young men climbed to the scaffold of the gallows with religious faith and full composure. Their attitude had a great impact on the continuation of the struggle, since *"the moral courage and the Greek bravery they demonstrated reinforced the image of EOKA and set a precedent to the other fighters."*¹⁷⁹

The hanging of three EOKA fighters on 9 August 1956

On 9 August 1956, the English led three EOKA fighters to their death by hanging. They were Andreas Zakos, Charilaos Michael and Iacovos Patatsos.

179. Papantoniou Erotokritos, Central Prisons priest, "How I lived the drama of the hanged," Nicosia, Cyprus, pp. 17-28, "The martyred heroes of EOKA," pp. 29,45.

Andreas Zakos (1931-1956) was born in Linou village of Nicosia district. He joined EOKA at the start of the Struggle and offered his services in the area of Lefka-Pyrgos. He constructed hideouts and initiated new people to EOKA. He had been a member of the guerrilla group that operated in the Galini area. He was particularly active in spotting targets for future attacks and for acts of sabotage by EOKA. He took part in the battle at the "Mersinaki" locality on 15 December 1955, when he was injured and captured.

The following events attest to the moral stature of Andreas Zakos:

1) He heard his death sentence on 22 February 1956 with absolute



Andreas Zakos

calmness. He maintained the same calmness until the end. Andreas Panagides, also in death row, who was being kept in a cell only a short distance from the gallows, wrote to his brother about the hanged heroes of 9th August 1956:

*"You should also learn that Zakos and the others died with pride. They were singing half an hour before their execution and at the time of the execution they shouted for freedom."*¹⁸⁰

2) On 2 August 1956, EOKA members abducted John Cremer, reportedly an Intelligence Service agent, aiming to kill him if the hangings of the

three death convicts went ahead. Andreas Zakos, on his own initiative, made the following written appeal to EOKA through his lawyer Stelios Pavlides:

"In consultation with my two other fellow prisoners, Michael and Patatsos, I make a warm appeal to those concerned to release Mr John A. Cremer from Kyrenia unconditionally. I beg that the life of

180. Spyros Papageorgiou, "The Cyprus Tempest 1955-1959," p. 251.

*this Briton, who is not responsible for our actions or for those of the Government, be not the least endangered, even in the case where a decision for our execution were to be taken or still in the case where we were to be executed in the end."*¹⁸¹

Dighenis then ordered the release of Cremer, who was set free on 5 August. This development had big international repercussions. Cremer stated that EOKA had spread its tentacles everywhere and that it was invincible. But he did not ask for the lives of the three death convicts to be spared.

Harding was not moved by Cremer's release and the hangings went ahead as planned on 9 August 1956.

3) His letters revealed his deep religiousness and spiritual cultivation. Two samples are quoted below:

a) He wrote to his friend, Hambis Bakalouris, on 7 August 1956: *"We are Christian and our objective must be the Heavenly Kingdom. We die in absolute serenity."*

b) To his brother George he wrote on 8 August 1956:

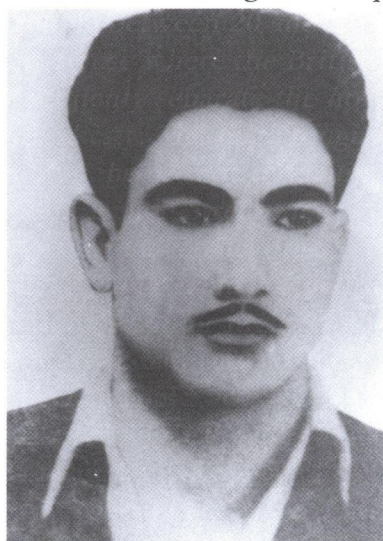
*"The hour of death is approaching, but peace is nestling in our soul. At this moment we are listening to Beethoven's Heroic Symphony. In the position we are now we cannot discover tragedy in death even with a microscope. Only then would I feel sorry, if I knew that I could stay young and immortal forever if I avoided the execution. But I think it is only by being executed that I shall be able to stay forever young and immortal. Sooner or later I would have had to dispose of my life. I DO NOT SEE A MORE APPROPRIATE OCCASION THAN THE PRESENT ONE TO DO IT."*¹⁸²

Charilaos Michael (1935-1956) was born in the village of Galini, Nicosia district. He had connections with the guerrilla band of Markos Drakos and was a friend and associate of Andreas Zakos, with whom he joined the guerrilla team of the Galini area on 17 November 1955. On 15 December 1955, his team linked up with

181. P. Papademetris - P. Petrides, "Historical Encyclopedia of Cyprus (1878-1978)," vol. 11, pp. 158.

182. Spyros Papageorgiou, "The Cyprus Tempest 1955-1959," p. 257.

Markos Drakos' group for the ambush at Mersinaki. It was there that they were both captured, Andreas Zakos heavily wounded and Charilaos Michael not wanting to abandon his friend. The calmness, courage, religiousness and patriotism of Charilaos Michael throughout the Struggle commanded admiration. In the confinement of his cell, Charilaos awaited death performing Cypriot dances and listening to Greek folk songs. His letters revealed his infinite patriotism. On 7 August he wrote to his friend Anthos Nicolaou:



Charilaos Michael

*"We are waiting for our parents to arrive. We shall receive them with cheers and applause. They shall be proud because their children are dying for their country, for freedom and love of duty, for the Country's sake. We are singing and chanting hymns, we praise the Lord who has made us worthy of dying for the sake of freedom."*¹⁸³

On Wednesday evening, 8 August, a few hours before the hero was due to hang, his parents visited him at the Central Prisons. He welcomed them with the patriotic song "Rise up, my poor slave." As they left, he said to them:

*"I have the courage to step on to the gallows, father. You, mother, consider it gratifying and something to be proud of that I am dying for our country."*¹⁸⁴

Iacovos Patatsos (1934-1956) was born in Nicosia. He had been a member of the Orthodox Christian Union of Youth (OHEN). He joined the secret Organisation for the liberation of Cyprus at the preparatory stage. At the beginning of the Struggle he was a mem-

183. Ibid, p. 260.

184. "The martyred heroes of EOKA," p. 64.

ber of a team that hurled bombs. He later enrolled for the Nicosia execution squad. He fought for the freedom of his country, because he believed that freedom was a gift from God. He yearned to see a free Christian Cyprus. He had been actively involved in the placing of a time bomb in Harding's bed.

On 23 April 1956, Iacovos and one of his companions undertook the execution of an informer policeman outside the central police station of Nicosia, situated in the Turkish quarter. The operation failed. Iacovos could not escape because a Turkish Cypriot policeman, Nihat Vacif, got hold of him. His companion then fatally shot Nihat and freed Iacovos. Immediately, however, some Turkish Cypriot bystanders rushed the fighter, immobilized him and handed him over to the security forces. Iacovos did not have a gun. His companion fled and joined the guerrillas.

Iacovos Patatsos was charged before the court for the murder of Nihat Vacif and on 23 July 1956 the English judge Ellison sentenced him to death. When the judge asked the fighter if he had anything to say against being sentenced, the latter replied:

"I am innocent."

Iacovos stood out for his deep religious faith. During his imprisonment he gave courage to the other political inmates. The letters he posted from inside the prison reflected his religiousness and his love for the freedom of Cyprus. He wrote on 24 July 1956 to an EO-KA member:

"They have transferred us to section seven. During our transfer we chanted as loudly as we could 'we shall unite our Cyprus.' Our procession was reminiscent of the early Christian era. We are all calm. We have enough courage. The Director of Prisons, who was present,



Iacovos Patatsos

was dumbfounded by our composure and could not utter a word... Our voices reached the next section of the prison and they started to applaud. In the end we all together sang the national anthem."¹⁸⁵

On 29 July 1956 he wrote to his cousin:

"I am waiting for the day of deliverance to arrive. I feel my soul quicken with joy. I wait for that hour when it shall fly free to the warm embrace of the Heavenly Father, like the little child that waits for his father to come home and throw itself in his arms... I close my letter with the quotation from the Bible: 'Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord ...For their deeds follow them.'¹⁸⁶

In another letter to an unknown recipient he wrote on 31 July 1956:

"I close my letter with the saying: 'And fear not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul; but rather fear him which is able to destroy both soul and body in hell.' (Math.10,28)

On 7 August he wrote to a fellow fighter who was being kept at the Kokkinotrimithia camp:

" We are singing patriotic songs, for we are enduring for our Country. We chant and praise God for giving us the courage to endure. I feel my soul serene. My happiness is great, for soon the hardships and sorrows shall be erased, leaving only the 'fruit of the Spirit.' My soul shall be joyous, because I have used my living time according to the voice of my conscience."

On 8 August, last day of his life, Iacovos wrote to his mother Rodou:

"Greetings, my beloved mother. Do not cry, so that you may hear my voice of an angel sing Holy, Holy, Holy be the Lord. Sing with me too. Sing, pray, praise the Lord in all your life."¹⁸⁷

At 8 p.m. on the same day, a few hours before the three heroes were hung, the prison chaplain Papantonios Erotokritou performed the holy unction, heard their confessions and gave them the last

185. Spyros Papageorgiou, "The Cyprus Tempest 1955-1959," p.246.

186. Nicolaos P. Vasiliades, op. cit., p. 64.

187. Ibid pp. 65, 67, 77.

rites " is efodion zois eoniou" (as a supply to eternal life). In a very solemn atmosphere the priest encouraged them to face death with religious faith.

He recalled:

"I said to them, in order to give them courage, that they should follow the example of the martyrs of the Church, who were ready to die so that they may sooner enter the kingdom of heaven, and I mentioned to them the example of Ignatius Theoforos, who became a prey to the beasts in the amphitheatre of Rome. The faces of the three, which I see before me even now, shall never be erased from my memory until the day when 'God may enable us to meet in the next life.' I asked them to approach me and having sung the hymn of Resurrection, they kissed the holy Gospel and my hand, while I kissed each one separately. They then embraced each other and were separated."¹⁸⁸

Chrysostomos Panayi, who was being held near the cells of death row, attests to the following about Iacovos Patatsos:

"At the last moment of his life, as they had the noose about his neck, he sang the Hymn to the Victorious Holy Virgin, but they did not let him finish it and they hang him."¹⁸⁹

The writer Nikolaos Vasiliades commented on the above events in these words:

"I wonder if there are many prisons that have witnessed such solemn atmosphere; or many gallows that have witnessed a more Christian and a more brave death. The death of the national martyrs of Cyprus cannot be at all distinguished from that suffered by the early Christians."^{189a}

The hanging of the three fighters highlighted for a second time the moral content of the EOKA liberation struggle, but they also jus-

188. Papantoniou Erotokritos, op. cit. pp 39-42, Spyros Papageorgiou, "The Cyprus Tempest 1955-1959," p. 245.

189. General George Grivas-Dighenis, "Chronicle...", p. 85.

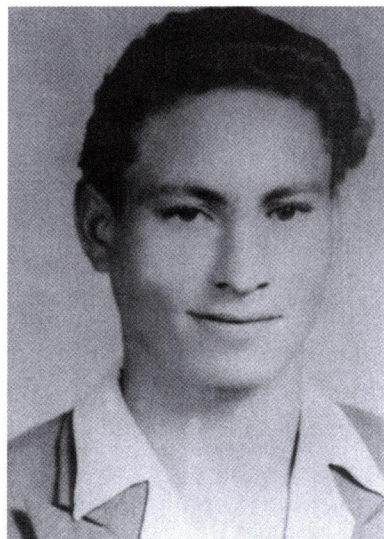
189a. Nicolaos P. Vasiliades, op. cit., p.78.

tified further action on the part of the Organisation. The military bases of Akrotiri, Episkopi, Dhekelia and other army installations were hit.

The hanging of three EOKA fighters on 21st September 1956

Three young men of EOKA climbed the scaffold and walked towards death in religious faith and with unwavering morale in the early hours of 21st September 1956. Those fighters were Michael Koutsoftas, Andreas Panagides and Stelios Mavrommatis.

Michael Koutsoftas (1934-1956) was born in Paliometochos village of the Nicosia district. He was married without children. He insisted on becoming an EOKA member in order to serve the Struggle for the freedom of Cyprus. When his mother told him to take care, he replied: *"Our chest is wide open for the freedom of our Cyprus, mother."*



Michael Koutsoftas

He got his death sentence when with two companions, Andreas Panagides and Paraskevas Chiropoulis, they attacked and killed the English Flight Lieutenant Patrick John Hale inside his office in the airport area. English soldiers chased and arrested them. The court sentenced Michael Koutsoftas and Andreas Panagides to death and Paraskevas Chiropoulis to life imprisonment, because he was under age.

In a letter he wrote to his mother on 16 September 1956, Koutsoftas said:

"Mother, you should be proud because I too am a child of Cyprus that sheds his blood for freedom. I pray to the All Holy Mother of God to give you courage, because she too has lost her son ... The only words the oppressors can hear from our lips are these: Freedom or death. Even the prison walls have learnt these words by now. Even the stones of the prison know that

*it is unjust to lock innocent people behind bars under the sole charge of being Greeks of Cyprus."*¹⁹⁰

On the eve of his hanging on 20 September he wrote to his mother and brothers:

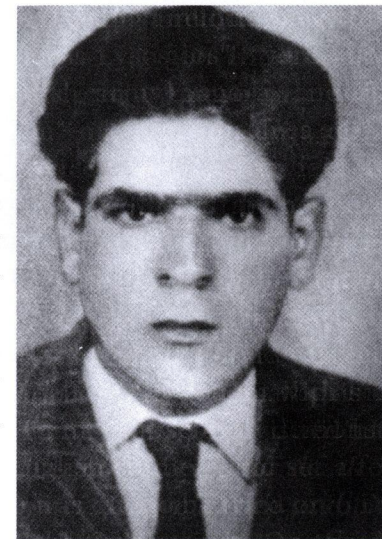
*"There is no reason to fear death, since we believe in the true light. Ever since the moment I learnt of the hour for our execution I feel my soul overfilled with real joy. I wish for you to live happily with my other brothers. Yes, mother, believe in God and the all-benevolent God will console you."*¹⁹¹

Andreas Panagides (1934-1956) was born in Paliometochos and he joined EOKA with his friend Michael Koutsoftas. Andreas Panagides was married with three very small children. This posed no obstacle to his participation in the national struggle of the Cypriot people, for he believed the freedom of one's country to be higher than family in the scale of values. He spoke to his fellow fighter Paraskevas Chiropoulis about his love for freedom on the eve of his execution and told him the following:

*"You are the last person I see before I die. I want you to say that we did not lose our courage but walked with our head high to the gallows, because freedom needs sacrifices. I shall not see Cyprus free, but I have given my blood so that the new generations will see it free."*¹⁹²

In a letter to his family on 18 September 1956, Panagides wrote:

"My adorable children, my most beloved wife, greetings.



Andreas Panagides

190. Spyros Papageorgiou, "The Cyprus Tempest 1955-1959," p.249.

191. Ibid, p. 270

192. Ibid, p. 264



The three children of the hero of the gallows, Andreas Panagides:
Avgi, Aristides, Despo.

At the moment of writing it is Tuesday 10 o'clock at night. Exactly 5 minutes ago they notified us that we should be executed on 21.9.56 at dawn... At the age of 22 I am dying for the sake of a noble ideal. Some day your mother and your uncle will explain to you why I was executed. I wish for you, my beloved children, to become good Christians and good Greek Cypriots. Keep always on the path of virtue.

Rest assured that I have always loved you so warmly and so infinitely as a father can love. But unfortunately I am leaving you and will not be able to see you grow up, as I dreamt I would. I bequeath to you a great and honoured name...And you, my dearly beloved Yiannoula, I ask you as a last favour to live well with our children. Love them so much as to make up for me as well, and I, from high above shall send you my warmest wishes..."¹⁹³

193. Ibid, p. 267

Stelios Mavrommatis (1932-1956) was born in the village of Larnacas (Lapithou) of the Kyrenia district. He had been a member of the Committee of SEK (Workers Confederation of Cyprus) and of his community's THOI (Orthodox Religious Institution). He worked in the Suez with the British army for two years and later at the English airport in Nicosia, until his arrest. As an EOKA member he took part in a sabotage action against British airplanes. He contributed other important services to the EOKA campaign as well. As a member of the execution squad he took part with two other co-fighters in the unsuccessful shooting of two RAF men, Normal Alfred and Laurence Leeth. The same arrested him and he was later sentenced to death by hanging. He faced the gallows with religious faith and exceptional courage.

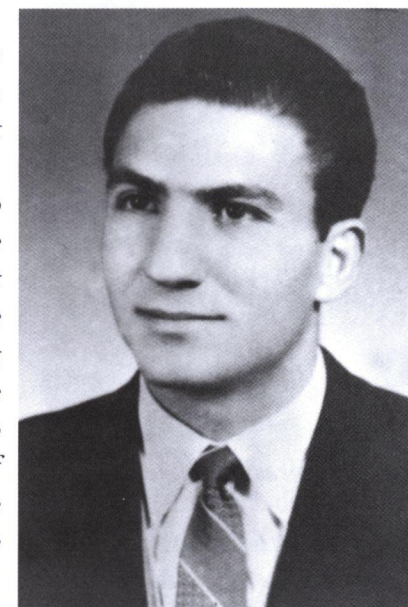
His two last letters revealed his moral stature. In the first he wrote:

"My respected parents and most beloved sisters and brother,

I am addressing my last letter to you in the hope that I shall be able to assuage your grieving souls. At the moment of writing I am in the dark cell of my prison, waiting courageously and patiently for the executioner to come and lead me to the place of execution. I feel myself strong and serene, because I have Christ inside of me and I am sure he will help me to the end."

His second letter was addressed to his brother. An extract from it is the following:

"Now that I am writing to you it is Thursday morning. As you too know, only a few hours separate me from the inescapable end...I want you to know that your brother is dying with a smile on his lips, because God has made him worthy of reaching the end

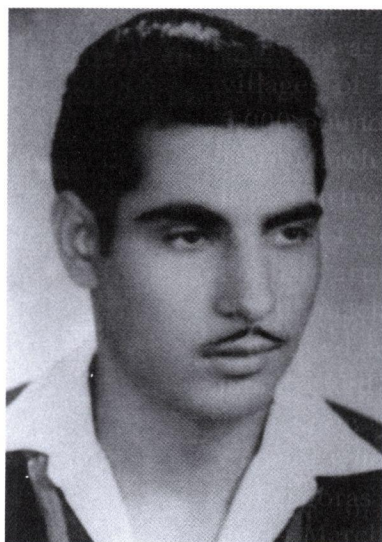


Stelios Mavrommatis

without ever breaking or losing heart. For this you must also be proud of me."¹⁹⁴

The hanging of Evagoras Palleskarides (1938-1957)

Evagoras Palleskarides was born at Tsada village in the district of Paphos. He studied at the Greek Gymnasium of Paphos. He was particularly active in national issues during his school years. In June 1953, the colonial Government of Cyprus staged celebrations for the coronation of queen Elizabeth. Evagoras pulled down the English



Evagoras Palleskarides

flag from the gates of Paphos stadium and took the lead in a demonstration, resulting in the town celebrations being cancelled. In 1955 as those arrested for illegal import of arms and ammunition with the boat "Ayios Georgios" were being taken to court, Evagoras and 20 of his friends threw themselves against the police in an attempt to free them. On 22 June, he was at the head of a group that attacked the Paphos Court and the English Commander Green Bay. In August 1955 he participated in a school excursion to Greece and in returning he brought with him a revolver. During a school demonstration in November 1955 he attacked English soldiers and set a fellow student free. His arrest followed. He was due to be tried on 6 December. He was then at the last grade of the Gymnasium. On the day preceding the trial he abandoned his school and his town, having left a good-bye letter for his classmates. In it he included a personal poem. The letter began as follows:

194. Spyros Papageorgiou, "The Cyprus Tempest 1955-1959," pp. 263, 264.

"Old classmates,

At this hour someone is missing from amongst you, one who leaves in search of some free air. Someone whom you may never see again, except dead. Do not cry over his grave. He is not to be mourned. Just scatter a few flowers over his grave. This is all he will need.

I shall climb high up

Through mountain trails

To find the steps

That lead to freedom." (Other verses followed).

Evagoras joined the guerrilla band of EOKA situated between the villages of Kissonerga and Tala. The English proscribed him for 5,000 pounds.

In March 1956, he took shelter in a forest hideout near Lysos village. During a relocation of his team from the Stavros tis Psokas area towards Lysos on 18 December 1956, he came face to face with an English army patrol. He was arrested for carrying a dismantled "Bren" machinegun on a donkey. On 25 February 1957, the court sentenced him to the gallows. Before pronouncing sentence, the judge asked him if he had anything to say. Evagoras replied:

"I know you will hang me. Whatever I did, I did it as a Greek Cypriot who is fighting for his freedom."¹⁹⁵

Evagoras Palleskarides was hanged in the central prison of Nicosia on 14 March 1957. He was buried next to the eight other heroes of the gallows in the small prison cemetery.

To his folks who visited him for the last time in prison he said:

"Do not grieve, for death is for me but a matter of a couple of minutes. I have sworn to die for my country and I kept my oath."

To his sister, who was the last to leave, he said:

"I do not want you to be sad, whatever happens. If they execute me, I shall go to God and beg of him that I'd be the last to hang."

He also wrote his last letter to her, a few hours before he was hanged. It began as follows:

195. "The martyred heroes of EOKA," p. 73.

"Time, 7.30 p.m. The most beautiful day of my life. The most beautiful day. Don't ask me why."

Further down in his letter he said he was very sorry he didn't make it to christen his sister's little girl and left a request about the name to be given her:

"I want the name you will give her to be a five-syllable one... and to remind of her for whose sake I came here. To remind of her for whom the poet Solomos wrote his most beautiful song; Her that every human being desires."¹⁹⁶ (Trans. note: The name he implied was Eleftheria, meaning "Liberty").

EOKA fighters whose death sentence was commuted to life imprisonment.

Evagoras Palleskarides was the last EOKA fighter to suffer the penalty of death. There were, however, fighters who had been condemned to death during the Struggle, but their sentences had been commuted to life imprisonment. All of them displayed exceptional moral bravery. During their stay in prison they lived many days in familiarity with death, convinced that in sacrificing themselves to the freedom of Cyprus they discharged a duty to their country. The gallows, only a few paces from their cells, did not scare them. Their names were:



Evagoras Palleskarides (right) pictured with companions in the hills

Chrysostomos Panayi, Nikos Xenofontos, Nikos Iacovou Tsardellis, Nikos Sophocleous (No. 8598), Stavros Demetriou, Christos Kyriakou, Frixos

Lambrou, Nikos Ioannou, Christos Apostolou, Andreas Afxentiou, Demos Michaelides, Vassos Christoforou, Georgios Xenopoulos, Manolis Theokli Chimonas, Kyriakos Panayi Nikolettis, Nikos Sampson Georgiades, Michalakis Ch. Rossides, Nikos Sophocleous (No. 8693), Costas Michael, Demetrakis Christou, Christos Constantinou, Nikolas Ioannou, Costas Loizou Papaiaovou, Yiannis Kyriakou Katsouris, Ioannis Gregoriou Markou, Georgios Constantinou, Andreas Ioannou Angelides, Demetris Christodoulou Koutalianos, Pavlos Panayiotou.^{196a}

The Imprisoned Graves

The English constructed the small cemetery of the central prisons in 1956. There they buried 13 EOKA fighters in order to avoid mass demonstrations that were certain to break out during the funerals of Cyprus' heroes.

The 13 who are buried in the central prisons are:

Michalakis Karaolis, Andreas Demetriou, Iacovos Patatsos, Andreas Zakos, Charilaos Michael, Michael Koutsoftas, Stelios Mavromatis, Andreas Panagides, Evagoras Palleskarides (hanged), Markos Drakos, Gregoris Afxentiou, Stylianos Lenas and Kyriakos Matsis (fallen).

All were young visionaries of the freedom of Cyprus for which they fought with all their might. They stood out for their religious and national spirit and willingly sacrificed their lives on the altar of liberty. They faced death through the prism of eternity and went to the gallows or fell in battle smiling. Their souls fled from the world of matter and decay to the world of immortality. The following verse is very fittingly inscribed on the wall of their cemetery:

"A brave man's death defies the meaning of death."

The Imprisoned Graves have become a place of solemn pilgrimage, reminding Cypriot and foreign visitors alike of the moral stature and unsurpassed heroism of the 1955-1959 fighters.

196. Spyros Papageorgiou "The Cyprus Tempest 1955- 1959," p. 207.

196a. Chr. Papachrysostomou "The great Struggle of 1955- 1959. Fighters' Archive," Nicosia 1977, pp. 32-35.



The Imprisoned Graves

3. THE TURKS ACT AGAINST THE GREEKS

Greeks and Turks clash at Vasilia- Turkish attacks in Nicosia

On 21 March 1956, ten Greeks and 9 Turks were injured in clashes that occurred between them in the village of Vasilia, Kyrenia district. Boisterous demonstrations by the Turks followed in Nicosia. The demonstrators attacked the church of St Luke and Greek shops. They also stoned cars. Many people were injured and damage caused to Greek properties.

The Turks resort to vandalisms and murders of Greeks- The English remain impassive

The Greek population of Cyprus suffered many hardships from the searches and military operations by the English, both in towns and villages. The inhabitants of the towns had in addition to face the

Turkish Cypriots, who aimed to intimidate the Greek Cypriots by ransacking, arson and murder. Everything happened under the nose of the English troops, who watched in full apathy. No Turk was ever arrested for the above offences against the Greeks. This was another example of the cooperation between English and Turks during that period.

Nikos Kranidiotis, a political prisoner from 5 September until 20 December 1956 and later under house arrest, described one such aggressive demonstration by Turkish Cypriots against the Greek Cypriots:

*"I remember the evening between 20 and 21 January 1957, when from the balcony of my house where the British had confined me I saw a thick fiery line suddenly separate the northern and southern quarters of the old walled city. The huge tongues of the flames devoured the Greek shops in the area of the Municipal Market, at the end of Ledra Street and in Ermou Street. It was an inferno, accompanied by deafening explosions and riotous screams, which filled the air with menaces and reached from afar like an unexpected curse in the icy atmosphere of that winter night."*¹⁹⁷

The attitude of EOKA towards the Turkish Cypriot aggressiveness against the Greek population could be clearly seen in the following leaflet by Dighenis, which was distributed after EOKA bombs injured Turkish Cypriot special constables.

"The Turks are raging because our bombs hit some special constables, who have enlisted voluntarily in the service of the English and were armed by them against us. But what did the clamouring English and a few hotheaded Turks expect? Did they expect us to sit with our hands tied, in order to be killed and murdered by the collaborators of the English with the English guns that they were given, applying the old saying 'butcher me, my Pasha, so that I may become a saint?' The Turks of 'Volcan', who took up arms against us from the English, ought to know that we would defend ourselves against them and that they would receive our bullets. Only fools or

¹⁹⁷. Nikos Kranidiotis, "Difficult years...", p.241.

powerless people would wait to be killed without hitting back at their murderers. Fortunately, we are neither. Since the beginning of our campaign we stated publicly that no Turk needed fear from us, because we mean to live in love and concord with the Turkish population, as we have lived for so many years. And we kept our word. Unfortunately, a small minority of hot-blooded young Turks became an instrument of the imperialist aims of the English, against the law-abiding majority of the Turkish population of the island, and with the policeman's uniform and the weapons of the English, they kill innocent Greek civilians, they torture Greeks in the detention camps and destroy Greek properties. These hot-blooded Turks have destroyed the harmony that existed for so many years between the Greeks and Turks of Cyprus. It is against them that the peace-loving Turkish population of the island should turn and recall them to order.

We are stating the following: We want a harmonious coexistence with the Turkish minority of Cyprus, in the same way that the Greeks and Turks live together in Greece. No civilian will come to harm from us. We only strike at those, whether they be Greeks, Turks or English, or of any other race, who allow themselves to become instruments of the English, are armed by the English and with the guns that the English give them, they strike at us. It is our obligation to defend ourselves against those.

EOKA, The Leader DIGHENIS.^{197a}

4. POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS FOR THE SOLUTION OF THE CYPRUS PROBLEM

Political developments on the Cyprus problem during the period May - July 1956- The Constitutional Commissioner Radcliffe arrives in Cyprus

The opposition of the British Labour Party towards the policy of

^{197a} Spyros Papageorgiou, "The Archives of underground documents ...," pp. 78-79.

the British Government was helpful to the Struggle of the Cypriot people. The Labour Party severely criticized the Conservatives' handling of the Cyprus problem and asked for Archbishop Makarios to be brought back to the island. A letter the Archbishop sent from the Seychelles to the Labour MP Francis Noel Baker, dated 13 May 1956, contributed to the favourable stance of the Labour Party. In his letter the Archbishop said among other things:

*"I sincerely regret that the erroneous policy of those responsible in the British Government has led things to the present deplorable situation. As you understand, the breach that separated the views of the Government from ours was not a great one. But with a little good will it could have been bridged. Unfortunately, the Governor, with the Central Government's authorization, of course, made the chasm wider by the inappropriate decision to banish me... I do not wish to trouble you with the conditions of our detention in the Seychelles. I say only this, that we are very displeased by the confinement measures taken against us. We are being watched day and night by a police guard. A few days ago two police dogs were brought to the island, also destined for our guard. We protested to the Government here about these measures which are humiliating for us and in a show of protest we have since Easter Day been on a three-day hunger strike. They have promised to seek instructions from London to relax the restrictive measures."*¹⁹⁸

In an address to a gathering of the Conservative Party at Norwich on 1st June 1956, the British Prime Minister Sir Anthony Eden included the following:

*"Without Cyprus we shall of course have no facilities for the protection of our oil supplies. And shortage of oil means unemployment and hunger in Britain."*¹⁹⁹

Harding went to London on 2 June for talks with the British Government. He believed he could crush EOKA by carrying out military

¹⁹⁸ "The Complete Works of Archbishop Makarios III of Cyprus," vol. 2, pp. 347-350.

¹⁹⁹ General George Grivas Dighenis "Memoirs ...," p.104.

operations and convinced the British Government to adopt his intransigence policy on the Cyprus problem. He returned to Cyprus on 24 June.

On 12 June the Secretary of the Ethnarchy Council, Nikos Kraniotiis, also arrived in London. He stayed there until the 30th of June. During this time he held contacts with Members of Parliament, journalists and others, informing them on the Cyprus problem. During his stay in London, the English discovered part of Dighenis' diary in a farm at Lysi, which influenced the political atmosphere in London, especially the British newspapers. This caused the publication of the British plan for Cyprus, which had been announced for June, to be postponed.

On 19 June, Macmillan wrote in his diary about the Cyprus problem:

"The problem of finding a solution acceptable to both Greece and Turkey remains as unresolved as it was during last year's London Conference."

The British newspapers in their June 20 edition published reports that Turkey had warned London it would send troops to Cyprus to prevent the island from being ceded to Greece.

The Acting Ethnarch, Bishop Anthimos, said in a declaration on 26 June:

*"I am more than ever determined to continue the Struggle, as I am convinced about the final victory. Whatever means Marshal Harding is planning to use, our Struggle will continue until the final victory."*²⁰⁰

The Turkish professor Nihat Erim, who had handled the Cyprus problem under various capacities (he had also served as Prime Minister) wrote in his book " The Cyprus problem according to what I know and what I saw":

" Menderes stressed to the British Ambassador in Ankara on 28 June 1956: Since the issue of Enosis is raised, the balance created by

200. Spyros Papageorgiou, " The Cyprus Tempest 1955-1959," p. 515.

the Lausanne Treaty becomes unsettled. This calls for bilateral negotiations with Greece in order to discuss all the issues concerning the relations between Greece and Turkey."

In the same book he wrote:

"The idea of partition has been discussed and studied since 1956 at certain secret - official and unofficial - negotiations among Turkey, Greece, Britain and America. The Belgian Foreign Minister and later NATO General Secretary Mr. Spaak proposed to mediate, promising that he would himself undertake the case of partition. What is more, he stressed that the Cyprus problem should not be taken to the United Nations but be discussed within the NATO framework."

Another extract from the same book by N. Erim, clearly revealing the Anglo -Turkish conspiracy against Cyprus, is the following:

*"The British Foreign Undersecretary Sir Ivone Kirkpatrick with a pencil stroke from north to south wanted to cut Cyprus in two halves - giving the eastern part to Turkey and the western part to Greece. Menderes told him he preferred the partition by half (from east to west). Menderes raised the issue with General Holmes."*²⁰¹

The British Prime Minister Sir Anthony Eden stated in the House of Commons on 12 July 1956 that his country accepted the principle of self-determination for Cyprus, albeit the state of affairs rendered its application impossible. At the same time he announced the intention of his Government to introduce a constitution of self-government for the island, which would not be implemented, however, "before terrorism was wiped out and law and order were restored."²⁰²

On the same day Harding spoke over Nicosia radio announcing the mission of the constitutional expert Lord Radcliffe to Cyprus. Among other things he said:

"Now, when terrorism is beginning to collapse, I do not see any reason why we should delay any longer in offering to the great mass

201. Spyros Papageorgiou, "The Cyprus tempest 1955-1959," p. 516.

202. General George Grivas-Dighenis, "Memoirs...", p.115.

of people – who are disgusted with violence and all its consequences – the hope of cooperating in the development of constitutional government. The firm and consistent pressure, which the security forces are exercising, will sooner or later crush EOKA."²⁰³

The British Labour Party criticized the policy of its country's Government and accused it of yielding to Turkey's blackmail.

The Greek Prime Minister, Constantinos Karamanlis, made statements to the effect that no solution to the Cyprus problem was acceptable which did not safeguard the right of self-determination for the Cypriot people. And he added that Greece would take the issue to the United Nations.

The Turkish Premier, Adnan Menderes, stated that if Cyprus were united with Greece he would raise the issue of Thrace and the Dodecanese.

The Ethnarchy Council met on 13 July 1956 under the chairmanship of the Acting Ethnarch, Bishop Anthimos, and issued an announcement saying:

"The Greek Cypriot people heard with great discontent the statements by the British Prime Minister about the political future of Cyprus. It is inconceivable how the Government of a Great Power has come to the point of barricading itself behind the artificial noise created by another country, in order to avoid applying to Cyprus the fundamental principle of self-determination, which it nevertheless says that it recognizes.

The Greek Cypriot people shall continue to claim the implementation of the right of self-determination, already safeguarded by international agreements binding on Great Britain.

As for the announced intention of the British Government to introduce a constitution of domestic self-government for the island, we would like to remind them that the Ethnarch, in consultation with the representatives of all the Organisations of the Greek Cypriot people, has already clearly stipulated the conditions under which

203. General George Grivas-Dighenis "Memoirs ...," p.116

such a transitional regime of real self-government could be accepted, until the application of self-determination. No one else may discuss these conditions in the name of the Greek Cypriot people."²⁰⁴

Radcliffe arrived in Cyprus on 14 July. The purpose of his visit was to study practically the drafting of a self-government constitution for the Cypriot people and to make proposals.

The Greeks of Cyprus remained firmly attached to the demand for self-determination and had no contact with Radcliffe. The slogan prevailing then was "no negotiations without Makarios." This was faithfully adhered to. So, after a brief sojourn in Cyprus, Radcliffe left for London.

The Ethnarchy Council convenes - The Acting Ethnarch Bishop Anthimos criticizes British policy

On 20 July 1956 the Acting Ethnarch Bishop Anthimos of Kition convened the Ethnarchy Council, which reviewed the political situation following the exile of Archbishop Makarios. After criticizing British policy, he referred to the oppressive measures taken by the English against the Cypriots. Among other things he said:

"It was obvious that the British Government no longer wanted to negotiate a just and honourable solution, but to impose its terms according to the law of the more powerful. Towards this end, the British administration in Cyprus intensified the oppressive measures. A new wave of terrorism and violence has been unleashed. More arbitrary arrests and confinements have been carried out. Collective fines amounting to thousands of pounds have been imposed on peace-loving citizens. Unsuspecting old men, women and children have been killed in the streets by the Security Forces. Ruinous curfews caused the economy of vital areas of the island to be dismantled. Young men have been sentenced and executed. Christian churches and cemeteries have been desecrated. Young persons have been subjected to the degradation of caning. Forests were burnt.

204. "The Complete Works of Archbishop Makarios III of Cyprus," volume 2, pp. 762-763.

Fruit trees have been uprooted, schools shut down, teachers from Greece have been deprived of their stay permit on the island and other medieval measures, which are insulting to European civilization, have been imposed by the English.

*But all these destructive measures have not broken the morale of the people, who remained rallied around the leadership of the Ethnarchy demanding justice and freedom."*²⁰⁵

The debate on the Cyprus problem in the House of Commons- Second visit of Lord Radcliffe to Cyprus - The Radcliffe constitution - Cyprus is threatened with partition

A debate on the Cyprus problem took place in the House of Commons on 14 September 1956, during which the Colonial Secretary, Lennox Boyd, linked the problem to the preceding Suez events and said that British sovereignty over Cyprus was absolutely necessary "if we are to fulfill our present responsibilities." He then stated that Lord Radcliffe had received a mandate to prepare a constitution for the island. He reiterated that the British Government accepted the principle of self-determination for Cyprus, but its practical application was not possible under the prevailing circumstances.

Radcliffe's mandate was as follows:

1) During the constitutional period, Cyprus would remain under the sovereignty of Britain.

2) Cyprus was necessary as a base, to be used by H.M. Government for the fulfillment of its international obligations in the defence of British interests in the Middle East, and also of the interests of its allies or those countries associated with her.

3) All matters relating to external affairs, the defence and internal security of Cyprus rested with the British Government or the Governor.

4) The Constitution would be based on the principles of a liberal democracy and would provide for measures of responsible self-gov-

205. Nikos Kranidiotis, "Cyprus in the struggle for freedom," pp. 148-149.

ernment by elected representatives of the Cypriot people, but would also contain reservations, provisions and guarantees, which might be necessary for the fair protection of special interests for the various communities, religious beliefs and races in Cyprus.²⁰⁶

Radcliffe went a second time to Cyprus on 26 September 1956, but again no Greek Cypriot approached him for talks. He therefore completed his work by himself and submitted it to the British Government on 14 November. Harding went to London on 25 November for consultations with the British Government on Radcliffe's proposals. The Turkish Foreign Minister, Fatin Zorlu, joined the consultations on 29 November. The Colonial Secretary, Lennox Boyd, communicated Radcliffe's proposal to the Greek Government, having gone to Athens expressly for this purpose. Two other envoys were sent to the Mache Island of the Seychelles to inform Archbishop Makarios, who refused to discuss any political issue whilst in exile.

The Greek Government rejected the Radcliffe constitution on 16 December as being neither liberal nor democratic, let alone leading to self-determination or conforming to the fundamental principles of the United Nations. It described it as "an instrument of foreign sovereignty, imposed by force on an unwilling people."²⁰⁷

The British Government officially announced the Radcliffe constitution in the House of Commons on 19 December 1956. Speaking on the international aspect of the issue, Lennox Boyd said among other things:

"When the international situation and the international treaties shall permit, and provided self-government will function satisfactorily, Her Majesty's Government will be prepared to review the subject of applying self-determination. When the time comes for this review, that is when these conditions are met, the objective of H.M.

206. General George Grivas-Dighenis, "Memoirs...", p. 133. 206. General George Grivas-Dighenis, "Memoirs...", p. 133.

207. Ibid, p. 143.

Government is to make sure that the opportunity is given to the Turkish Cypriot community, as well as to the Greek Cypriot community - because of the particular circumstances of Cyprus - to decide themselves about its future status. H. M. Government recognizes that the exercise of self-determination in such a mixed population should also include partition among the possible options."²⁰⁸

Commenting on these views, Nikos Kranidiotis wrote:

*"This groundless interpretation of applying self-determination separately for the Greeks and Turks of the island has since been intransigently adopted by the Turkish Government and the Turkish minority in Cyprus, and the solution of partition became ever after the most favourable Turkish slogan."*²⁰⁹

The statement by the Turkish Prime Minister Adnan Menderes before the National Assembly in Ankara on 29 December 1956 was very characteristic:

*"The partition of Cyprus by half between the Greek Cypriot and the Turks, constitutes a self-sacrifice for Turkey and we shall never consent to a greater self-sacrifice than partition."*²¹⁰

The discussion of the Cyprus problem at the U.N.- The General Assembly resolution of February 1957

The Political Committee of the U.N. General Assembly began to discuss the Cyprus problem on 18 February 1957.

The Greek Government, under the leadership of the Foreign Minister Evangelos Averoff, supported the application of the self-determination principle to Cyprus, in accordance with the United Nations Charter, and also the conduct of an investigation into the outrages against the island's inhabitants by the English.

The English Government in an appeal of its own to the U.N. accused Greece of giving material and moral support to EOKA and of

contributing to the mutiny of the Cypriot people through its radio broadcasts. The British representative referred to the "broad measures of self-government" and to the peculiarities of the proposed constitution, which "were due to the special circumstances of the island, circumstances which called for the safeguarding of the interests of all the communities and do not allow for the application of self-determination, at least at the present stage."²¹¹

The representative of Turkey argued for the continuation of the existing status in Cyprus, saying that consultations should take place between Britain and Turkey in case of any change to it.

During the discussion five proposals were submitted for the solution of the Cyprus problem. Finally, the General Assembly approved with some amendments the draft resolution submitted by the Indian representative, Krishna Menon, by 76 votes in favour and 2 abstentions: It said:

*"The General Assembly, having considered the Cyprus issue and in the belief that the solution of this problem requires an atmosphere of peace and freedom of expression, expresses the strong wish to reach a peaceful, democratic and just solution, in accordance with the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter and the hope that negotiations will resume, which will continue towards this aim."*²¹²

The resolution was a success for Greek foreign policy on the Cyprus problem. The outcome for Turkey, however, was not a pleasant one, as was clearly shown by a letter which the Greek permanent representative to the U.N., Chr. Xnathopoulos - Palamas submitted to the General Secretary of the Organization Dag Hammarskjöld on 17 May 1957, bearing the number 2190.

Two excerpts from this document are the following:

a) *"The discussion in the General Assembly, and also its conclusion*

208. Nikos Kranidiotis, "Difficult Years...", pp. 239-240.

209. Nikos Kranidiotis, "Cyprus in the struggle for freedom," p. 159.

210. General George Grivas-Dighenis, "Memoirs...", p. 150.

211. Nikos Kranidiotis, "Difficult Years...", p. 243.

212. General George Grivas-Dighenis, "Memoirs...", p. 158, Nikos Kranidiotis "Difficult Years...", p. 245, "The complete works of Archbishop Makarios III of Cyprus," vol. 2, p. 267.

with the unanimous adoption of resolution 1013 (IX), has been an effective step in promoting the case of the Cypriots within the framework of the United Nations. It seems though that this hopeful development did not serve the objectives, purposes and ambitions of the Turkish Government. For this reason it has tried to prevent any possible progress in the implementation of this resolution. Firstly, it strongly opposed the release of Makarios, by reacting in the most violent way. A malignant campaign by the press has been directed against the Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Greek minority in Istanbul. At the same time acts of intimidation were turned against Greece, while the partition of Cyprus has been promoted as the only solution – in an obvious conflict with the resolution of the United Nations."

b) "An explanation, however, for the Turkish attacks against Archbishop Makarios could be found in the basic differences in character and stature between the Archbishop and Dr Kucuck, whom the Turkish Government adopts as the leader of the minority in Cyprus. Indeed, when Archbishop Makarios, respectful of the U.N. Charter and the eternal values speaks out and struggles for liberty and human propriety, Dr Kucuck declares before an assembly of students at Istanbul University:

"The Greek Nation is a barbaric one (sic). For every Turk killed, we killed 10 Greeks. For each Turkish house burnt, we burnt 10 Greek houses," and these while his audience shouted 'death to the Greeks.' "

Now, these are anti-Greek manifestations indicating a certain level, and it should be taken into consideration that Dr Kucuck is freely permitted to travel all over Turkey making speeches."²¹³

Dighenis states on 14 March 1957 that he will declare a truce if Archbishop Makarios is set free – The events that followed – The release of Archbishop Makarios

In a show of goodwill, Dighenis announced by way of a leaflet on

213. Research by Elias Venton in USA archives about the Anticolonial Struggle in Cyprus.

14 March 1957 his intention to declare a second EOKA truce. He wanted to give another chance to a negotiated solution of the Cyprus problem.

The EOKA leader said in the leaflet:

"Our Organisation, conforming to the spirit of the U.N. resolution which expresses the wish for a peaceful and just solution of the Cyprus problem, in accordance with the principles of the U.N. Charter and in order to facilitate the resumption of negotiations between the British Government and the real representative of the Cypriot people, Archbishop Makarios, states that it is ready to order a suspension of its operations as soon as the Ethnarch Makarios is set free."^{213a}

After the distribution of the leaflet, the following events took place between 14 and 28 March 1957:

Harding ordered military operations on a large scale to begin in the Pitsilia region on 17 March, resulting in many arrests.

On 18 March, he went to London where he stated that EOKA was only offering a suspension and not a definite cessation of hostilities.

Speaking in the House of Commons on 20 March, Lennox-Boyd proposed a Cyprus solution through NATO, disregarded the U.N. resolution and said that the British Government would release Archbishop Makarios if he denounced violence.

On 21 March, a letter by Lennox-Boyd was delivered to Archbishop Makarios, asking him to denounce violence and condemn the terrorist acts of EOKA.

In his reply on 22 March, the Archbishop said among other things the following:

"The resolution of the United Nations calling for a resumption of negotiations for a peaceful, democratic and just solution of the Cyprus problem, in accordance with the principles of the U.N. Charter, constitutes the starting point for the final settlement of the issue. We understand this resolution to be an expression of the wish

213a. General George Grivas-Dighenis, "Memoirs...", p. 165.

of the United Nations for bilateral negotiations between the British Government and the Cyprus people. The EOKA organization has conformed to the spirit of the U.N. resolution, and in order to facilitate the resumption of such negotiations, it declares its readiness to suspend its operations as soon as I am released.

In this way a new situation has been created, opening the way for the restoration of peace on the island. Nevertheless, the British Government was not satisfied with the offer of a truce on the part of EOKA, because its leaders have declared only a suspension and not a cessation of operations. I should be very sorry if the road to peace just opened, were to be blocked by this argument.

In my sincere wish to see peace restored on the island, I appeal to the EOKA organization and to the British Government. I appeal to EOKA to declare a cessation of all its operations, under the condition that the British Government will show a spirit of understanding, abolishing simultaneously the present state of emergency."

Further down in his letter the Archbishop noted the following:

"The Colonial Secretary has also said that it is his Government's opinion that it would be better to address the international aspects of the problem by discussing them within NATO first, but he expressed the hope to proceed later with constitutional discussions. A statement by the Greek Government interpreting correctly the spirit of the U.N. resolution, has already given the answer that it (the Greek Government) would not be willing to participate in a discussion of the Cyprus problem within NATO, because the talks must be resumed directly between the British Government and the people of Cyprus."²¹⁴

This reply by Archbishop Makarios gave rise to doubts and dissensions among the members of the British Government, but it was finally decided to release the Archbishop and his co-exiles in the Seychelles. The decision was taken at a Cabinet meeting on 28 March

214. "The Complete Works of Archbishop Makarios III of Cyprus," Volume 2, pp. 172-175.

1957 and the Colonial Secretary Lennox-Boyd made an announcement in the House of Commons. According to it, the Archbishop and his three co-exiles could go anywhere they liked except to Cyprus. In his statement Lennox-Boyd added:

"In order to encourage a speedy return to normal peaceful conditions in Cyprus, the Governor is prepared to offer an immediate safe departure from Cyprus to the Leader of EOKA, Grivas. If he decides to take advantage of this offer, the Cyprus Government will enter into the necessary consultations with any member of the Consular Corps of Cyprus, which would agree to act on his behalf. The offer of safe conduct is also open to any other foreign nationals, who are members of EOKA and are not under detention in Cyprus. And it will be extended to any British subjects who are members of the Organisation and who have not yet been arrested, under the condition that they shall undertake the obligation not to enter British soil for as long as the emergency law continues to apply in Cyprus."²¹⁵

The news of Archbishop Makarios' release was announced over the B.B.C. on 28 March, at 6 p.m. Crowds of people immediately rushed out into the streets to celebrate the event in towns and villages, while church bells tolled joyously. In their hardships of that period the people felt relieved and at the same time a spark of hope was kindled in them that the day of their country's deliverance from the English yoke might not be too far away. But nothing more ensued than a relaxation of certain emergency measures.

5. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE FOR THE CYPRUS STRUGGLE (P.E.K.A.)

In order to enhance the success of the EOKA armed struggle, Dighenis decided to mobilize the civilian population of Cyprus. He therefore established the Political Committee for the Cyprus Struggle (P.E.K.A.). The decision was taken in August 1956. The mission

215. "The Complete Works of Archbishop Makarios III of Cyprus," vol.2, pp 172-175.

of P.E.K.A. was the following: a) To coordinate the political and military campaign. b) To maintain a united internal front. c) To raise the morale of the people. d) To counter enemy propaganda.

Local Committees were set up for the furtherance of the P.E.K.A. aims, which cooperated with the EOKA section commanders and often distributed leaflets, highly contributive to the armed fight and the strengthening of the people's morale. The Committees received their instructions from the section commanders in their area. The Head of P.E.K.A. in Nicosia received his orders from the leader of EOKA.

Dighenis issued instructions in which he stressed from the beginning that: a) pessimism should be combated, b) everyone should keep on working and put off their days of rest until the end of the struggle and c) a strong resistance should be developed against the efforts of the enemy to wear out the internal front and break the morale through the use of various means (oppression, promises, material benefits et al.). For this reason it was imperative to follow the activities of the adversary closely and to react to them without delay.

A Solid Unified National Front (EAEM) began to function under the guidance of PEKA, which aimed at facing the Turkish threat and giving directions for Passive Resistance, the latter having been launched according to a specific plan in March 1958. More on the Passive Resistance in pp. 195-196.

Another important work of PEKA was the creation of Arbitration Committees charged with resolving differences between the Greeks of Cyprus. This measure brought about a decrease in Court revenues, it saved money for those concerned and contributed to greater discipline among the people.

The Arbitration Committees in the villages also resolved various community problems, acting in a spirit of mutual assistance and voluntary contribution. They helped to settle such issues as water supply, road maintenance and other, which ordinarily came under the jurisdiction of the local councils and the Development Boards.

Dighenis recognized the contribution of PEKA when he wrote:

"PEKA fully performed its task, although as much persecuted as EOKA was. New members immediately replaced those arrested and the effort continued."^{215a}

Regarding the universal participation of the population in the Struggle, he noted:

"There was no 'front line' and 'rear guard' in the liberation struggle of the Cypriot people, but a general battlefield where everybody was a combatant. The steam-roller of the occupier and the axe of destruction passed everywhere, in towns and villages, in the houses and in the fields, in the mountains, in forests and canyons. Homes were blown up, fields and plantations ruined, properties were looted, villages and towns suffered under prolonged curfews, citizens were arrested and tortured and imprisoned, others were shot at and some of them were killed in cold blood."

Since 16.8.1957 when the first curfew was imposed on Agros village in the Pitsilia region until the signing of the deplorable Zurich-London agreements, not a day passed without the English suppressing the Greeks of the island in every way. Despite all these, only one voice echoed from the mouths of children and elderly alike: 'We shall not bow.'^{215b}

Dighenis expressed his admiration especially for the contribution of the civilian population in the countryside, in the following words:

*"I congratulate from the bottom of my heart and reveal myself before the heroic victims of all those patriots living in settlements and villages, who fought with their bare hands and stood bravely, using stones and unyielding moral courage as their only weapons, in order to carry out the task assigned to them in an admirable way. Their contribution has been tremendous."*²¹⁶

The leaflets of PEKA were read avidly by the Greek Cypriot people and played a great part in the course of the EOKA liberation

215a. General George Grivas-Dighenis, "Memoirs...", p.130.

215b. George Grivas-Dighenis, "Chronicle...", pp. 26-27.

216. Ibid, p.30.

struggle. For this reason, Harding declared PEKA to be an illegal organization. On this occasion PEKA distributed the following leaflet:

"P.E.K.A.

THANKS

"PEKA feels obliged to thank the unbalanced little dictator Sir John Harding for declaring it an illegal organization. In a place where laws are drafted in a jiffy and are sent to the Government printing office without asking those to whom they apply, where the laws are interpreted according to the interests of the London imperialists, where the Greek Fighters for Freedom are hanged as criminals, while cutthroats and other scum are acquitted of any charge like innocent doves, where the law operates according to the interests of colonialism, where justice is literally mocked by sham trials and the senile old special judges they have shipped from England, in such an unfortunate place it is a title of honour for PEKA to be considered illegal. PEKA would not be performing its duty if it were not outlawed.

The Cyprus people trample with their old heavy country boots on the scraps of paper called English laws. For it is no law, but lawlessness to consider love for freedom a crime, to concentrate all power in the hands of a half wit criminal, to oppress an entire people with collective fines and other injustices, because our bosses need the oil! (They will burn for this...)

We promise the lawmaker of lawlessness and injustice, Marshal Sir John, that PEKA will do everything it can to prove worthy of the honour bestowed on her. It too shall fight, like EOKA, for a free Cyprus, where the law shall not be a mockery, as it is now, but will regulate justice for a Free People."

P.E.K.A. ^{"216a}

216a. "An anthology of texts for the EOKA Struggle 1955-1959," pp. 66-67.

CHAPTER 6

THE PERIOD OF THE STRUGGLE FOLLOWING THE RELEASE OF ARCHBISHOP MAKARIOS UNTIL THE RESIGNATION OF HARDING

(28 March - 21 October 1957)

After his release from exile in the Seychelles, Archbishop Makarios went to Athens with his three fellow exiles. From there he carried on the fight for the liberation of Cyprus. His political views, however, did not meet with any response from the ruling Conservative Party of Britain. The U.S.A. went along with their British allies. The unilateral truce by EOKA went on for months, despite continuing operations against it by the English troops. Harding, who had been governing Cyprus for two years, did not succeed to crush EOKA, as he had many times pompously declared, and was forced to submit his resignation.

1. THE POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS OF APRIL AND MAY 1957- THE DIFFICULTIES IN RESOLVING THE CYPRUS PROBLEM

Archbishop Makarios and his co-exiles arrive in Athens - Dighenis declares a suspension of EOKA operations for diplomatic initiatives to take place, but he is wary about its success and takes measures.

Archbishop Makarios and his co-exiles left the Seychelles on 6 April 1957 and arrived at Athens on the 17 of the month, where they were cheered by hundreds of thousands of people shouting for the self-determination of the Cyprus people.

On the same day the Archbishop delivered an inspired speech from the balcony of the "Petit Palais" - as the hotel Grande Bretagne had been renamed - to the huge crowd of Greek people gathered in

Constitution Square. He said amongst other:

*"The Cypriot people through their struggles, their sacrifices and their attitude towards the occupiers, have proven not only that they are in every respect worthy of freedom, but also that they are determined to regain it. We hope that the British Government will show understanding, so that a peaceful, democratic and just solution on the Cyprus problem can be reached, in accordance with the letter and the spirit of the United Nations Charter and in accordance with the will of the Cypriot people."*²¹⁷

In the meantime EOKA had by order of Dighenis declared a truce in Cyprus (31 March 1957). At the same time the EOKA leader, having his reservations about the success of diplomatic initiatives for a solution of the Cyprus problem, took the following measures:

- 1) Reorganisation of EOKA forces, selection of targets and preparation for action in case the talks failed.
- 2) Enforcement of appropriate security measures and absolute secrecy to counter any enemy action.
- 3) Maintenance of the fighting spirit of the people.
- 4) Combating enemy propaganda.

Succeeding events proved that the reservations of Dighenis were fully justified.

The Greek Government, Archbishop Makarios and Dighenis face the difficulties of a solution to the Cyprus problem

The U.N. resolution of 26 February 1957 for a solution of the Cyprus problem was favourable for Cyprus, but the English and the Americans, motivated by their own interests, thought and acted differently. They exercised strong pressure on the Greek Government for a cessation of the armed struggle of EOKA. The Greek Government began to turn in this direction and to look for a peaceful solution of the Cyprus problem. In a note to Dighenis, dated 2 April 1957, the Greek Consul in Cyprus wrote:

217. "The Complete Works of Archbishop Makarios III of Cyprus," vol. 2, pp 182-183.

"If it would seem expedient, there is no objection on the part of the Greek Foreign Ministry to declare a cessation of operations on the date of Makarios' arrival in Athens. You could perhaps prepare a proclamation, simply announcing your decision on this. On the question of departure we shall wait for consultations with Makarios."

This message reached Dighenis on 5 April. He had earlier written to the Greek Consulate in Cyprus setting out his thoughts about the line that in his opinion should be followed in the peace negotiations for the Cyprus problem. In this letter he said:

*"If for reasons of expediency it would be advisable to offer the British Government, which is today being criticized even from within, a way out for substantive talks, according to the U.N. resolutions, then it might be possible to terminate the struggle definitely, under the condition that the negotiations be carried out on the basis of the self-determination principle."*²¹⁸

Archbishop Makarios wrote to Dighenis on the same issue under the code name of "Chares" on 24 April 1957. The letter, which was passed through the Greek General Consul in Cyprus, Angelos Vlachos, was the following:

"I am proud and perfectly satisfied with your wonderful struggle, for which the gratitude of Cyprus to you will always be great. I only say this to you, that you have become a legend and a symbol."

The truce declared is a very good idea. But the question emerges whether the truce is permanent or not. I think that, following the decision by the U.N. a peaceful climate must be created, which is necessary for the resumption of bilateral talks. Of course, and you also agree with this, we never were of the opinion that you could defeat the English militarily, but that through armed activity you would make our issue an international one and, if possible, to force a political solution in accordance with our demand for self-determination. The first has already been achieved. The second has not

218. General George Grivas-Dighenis, "Memoirs...", p.168.

yet been achieved. There are still many difficulties, which we must strive to overcome.

But the question arises: in view of the present situation (from the Cypriot and international aspect) does the continuation of armed activity serve our interests or not? I am not fully informed about the situation in Cyprus. But judging by what I know, I sincerely believe that a way must be found for the operations to cease, without however hurting your prestige in any way whatsoever. I have various ways in my mind. The Consul General will inform you about these.

In the meantime I would like to know your views.²¹⁹

Dighenis replied to the above letter of Archbishop Makarios' on 27 April, underlining the following:

"A definite cessation of the struggle is not to our interest if the conditions for a political solution satisfying our aspirations are not safeguarded. This is what I deemed myself obliged to place before you on the issue raised about the cessation of the struggle."²²⁰

On 14 May 1957, the Archbishop gave the following answer to Dighenis' letter:

"My General,

I have received your letter dated the 27th of last month in reply to mine, in which I asked for your personal opinion. I have carefully read the arguments mentioned in your letter, which lead you to think that "a definite cessation of the struggle does not serve our interests." I shall not disagree with your opinion. For various reasons, however, I would like the truce to continue for some time. I realize of course the difficult situation in which the Organisation finds itself on account of the fact that the truce is unilateral. Nevertheless, I view the situation from a more general aspect and deem that a resumption of operations at the present moment would not be beneficial. In the meantime we shall exert every effort to supply you with

219. "The Complete Works of Archbishop Makarios III of Cyprus," vol. 2, pp. 188-189.

220. General George Grivas-Dighenis, "Memoirs...", p. 172.

material. Phaethon (code name for Andreas Azinas) will write to you about this.

Once again I wish to assure you of the infinite appreciation and admiration, which I feel for you personally and for the excellent work you have performed and are still performing. The spirit of heroic resistance and national exaltation, which you have instilled to the whole of our subjugated island, will always remain a source of inspiration and fortitude, not only for the Cypriots but also for all who are fighting for freedom.

Your sacrifices are a capital investment for our struggle. We shall exert every effort to turn this capital to account.

I send you my regards and shake your hand with my warmest wishes.

CHARES.²²¹

How the English are disposed towards the solution of the Cyprus problem

The British Colonial Under - Secretary stated in the House of Lords on 11 April 1957:

"A conference of representatives of all the communities will be convened in London in due course to discuss the Radcliffe Constitution."

In an interview with British television, Harding said on 24 April that Cyprus could be used as an airbase to support the right flank of NATO and the state-members of the Bagdad Pact. He set the following conditions for any settlement of the Cyprus problem:

- 1) Permanent termination of terrorism.
- 2) A firm understanding between Britain, Greece and Turkey on the international aspects of the Cyprus problem.
- 3) An agreement between the British Government and representatives of the Greeks and Turks of Cyprus on the Radcliffe constitution.

To these statements by Harding, Dighenis responded with a leaflet, in which he also wrote:

221. "The Complete Works of Archbishop Makarios III of Cyprus," vol.3, p.22.

" We agree on terminating terrorism. But this exists only on his part, with the acts of suppression, the brutalities and barbarities against the population. Milikouri village has been cut off from the rest of the world for 54 days now and is starving, and any English soldier or auxiliary policeman may invade the houses at any time to supposedly look for wanted persons, the tortures are being intensified etc. Let Harding, therefore, cease his own terrorism, since EO-KA has long suspended its operations. The Organisation has already conformed to the U.N. resolution, to which Harding ought to conform as well. "

The British Defence Secretary, Duncan Sandys, stated on his departure from the island on 25 April after a brief visit:

*"The primary purpose of my visit to the island has been to discuss with the Governor and the Military commanders the role, which the forces stationed in Cyprus can play in supporting NATO and the Bagdad Pact, as well as other obligations in the Middle East. On this issue we examined methods of securing the substantive needs of the British base in Cyprus in various potential situations, which might develop. Among other things we examined problems that might arise if the continuing political stalemate makes necessary the consideration of dismembering the island."*²²²

Sandys' statements were followed by those of the Turkish Cypriot leader, Fazil Kucuck, who had visited Ankara for talks with the Prime Minister of Turkey and other members of the Turkish Government. On his return to Cyprus on 13 May he told foreign correspondents:

"The dismemberment of the island is the only solution that can safeguard our interests in Cyprus."

After seeing the Governor of Cyprus he claimed that " the British Government has made a turn in favour of the Turkish views, which support the implementation of dismemberment and the rejection of self-determination within a fixed timetable with self government as a transitional stage."²²³

222. General George Grivas-Dighenis, "Memoirs..." p. 177.

223. General George Grivas-Dighenis, "Memoirs..." p. 177.

The British Prime Minister, Harold Macmillan, also talked about implementing partition in Cyprus in his Memoirs:

"In the spring of 1957, under these circumstances, my thought began to turn to the Biblical solution of Solomon. I wondered if the threat of partition could bring the adversaries to their senses. If partition were finally enforced, what concerned us was the future of our military bases, which were necessary for the reinforcement of the right flank of NATO. For this reason I assigned a committee under the chairmanship of Sir Norman Brook to review the problem of our military installations, even in the case of granting independence, in such a way as to have always an effective control over the area that would be strategically necessary for us."²²⁴

The policy of the U.S.A. on the Cyprus problem during the EOKA Struggle

It can generally be said that the policy of the U.S.A. on the Cyprus problem strengthened British policy during the EOKA struggle. This is demonstrated by the following:

1) On 21 September 1955, the Greek appeal to the U.N. for the application of the self-determination principle to the people of Cyprus reached the Committee stage but was voted out by seven countries, including Britain and the U.S.A.

2) On 9 December 1957, the U.N. began discussing the Cyprus problem. The Political Committee by simple majority approved the Greek plan in a revised form (31 countries in favour, 23 against, 24 abstentions). The U.S.A. abstained.

3) Formal documents by U.S. officials reveal the siding of their country with ally Britain, because this is what their own interests dictated.

There follow certain texts, which throw light on events during the period of the EOKA liberation struggle:

a) Extract from a telegram by the U.S.A. Ambassador to London Mr. Butterworth to his country's State Department, which was sent

224. Nikos Kranidiotis, "Difficult Years..." p. 268.

on 9 September 1955 at 7 p.m., after the conclusion of the Tripartite Conference in London. It said:

"The Embassy realises, of course, the difficulties of implementing what Britain wishes, namely the effort to shelve the issue of self-determination, so that it can concentrate on promoting self-government. We are under the impression, however, that the British are seriously thinking of increasing the privileges of the Cypriots, while confirming the rights of the Turkish minority, and they would even go further than it seems today, once they are certain that self-government will not mean a communist takeover...The view of the Embassy is that it would be very undesirable to leave the Greeks with any impression that the USA believe discussion on the issue at the UN could be fruitful or useful in easing tension. While the British were on the defensive last year because of their weak position, now they are almost certain (being warmly supported by the Turks)."

b) "Note by the Executive Secretary to the National Security Council in relation to American policy towards Greece," written by the Acting Executive Secretary S. Everett Gleason on 5 August 1957. The following are mentioned:

"Continue to exercise influence on the Greek Government to reach an agreement with the United Kingdom and Turkey for a just settlement on the Cyprus problem."

An extract from the book by Nikos Kranidiotis "Difficult Years - Cyprus 1950-1960," relating to August 1957, sheds more light on the above:

"During those days Henderson, the special envoy of the American President, was in Athens holding meetings with the Prime Minister and other officials. He conveyed the views of State Secretary, Foster Dulles, on convening a new Tripartite Conference. The United States reacted persistently to the idea of Enosis or self-determination and in pursuing a NATO solution, they kindled the Turkish position, insisting firmly on the disinternationalisation of the Cyprus problem and the commencement of a Greek-Turkish dialogue with Great Britain as arbitrator" (p. 289).

c) Telegram by Henry Cabot Lodge, U.S.A. representative at the

U.N., to his country's State Secretary, dated 1 November 1957, 8 p.m. It said:

"We believe that we should handle the Cyprus issue with the utmost care and that every effort should be exerted to prepare the ground in Ankara and Athens before the matter comes here (for discussion)."

d) In a telegram by Taylor G. Belcher, U.S.A. Consul in Nicosia, to the State Secretary of his country, dated 2 November 1957, 10.00h, the following were stated:

"Harding invited me to Government House yesterday to say farewell. He expressed deep appreciation for the cooperation by the American representatives here, especially Courtney during the greatest violence (on the island). He said he was making his last suggestions to Her Majesty's Government, which are as follows:

1) The U.S.A. and the United Kingdom should continue their efforts to come to an understanding about the policy to be applied on the Cyprus problem.

2) The Government of Her Majesty should appoint a high-ranking official as the 'Tsar of Cyprus' to handle this issue exclusively.

3) Makarios should continue to live in exile until an international solution is reached.

4) The discussion and efforts in association with the U.S.A. Government should continue, in the hope that tense discussion will be avoided at the U.N.

5) The Ministerial conference of the Non-Aligned countries in December should be made an opportunity, whereby the U.S.A. President should have a long and sincere talk with Karamanlis and Menderes on the vital need to stop the turmoil over Cyprus as a serious threat to the western alliance.

BELCHER.²²⁵

225. The extracts of the texts which refer to the policy of the U.S.A. on the Cyprus problem are taken from a research in U.S.A. Archives by Elias Vlantou about the Anti-colonial Struggle of Cyprus.

Letter by Archbishop Makarios to the Prime Minister of Britain, Harold Macmillan, for bilateral talks to solve the Cyprus problem- The English do not respond and continue their operations against EOKA

On 28 May 1957, Archbishop Makarios sent to the British Prime Minister, Harold Macmillan, the following letter through the British Ambassador in Athens, Sir Roger Allen:

"Sir,

As the spiritual and elected national leader of the Greek people of Cyprus I wish to draw your attention to the following:

1. The General Assembly of the United Nations in its Plenary Session of 26 February 1957 adopted resolution No 1013, which is as follows: 'The General Assembly, having examined the Cyprus issue and believing that the solution of this problem requires an atmosphere of peace and freedom of opinion, expresses the strong wish for a peaceful, democratic and just solution to be found, in accordance with the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations, and the hope that negotiations will be resumed and continued towards this end.'

2. Following this resolution, the Cyprus people has responded with a significant contribution to restoring a peaceful atmosphere on the island, showing all its willingness to conform to the above resolution. Towards this end, the resistance movement has ceased all operations and declared a truce as from 14 March 1957, to which it has since adhered faithfully and strictly.

3. The British administration of Cyprus, however, has neglected to take any reciprocal action towards creating an atmosphere of peace and freedom of expression, as stipulated in the said resolution. To the contrary, it has maintained the emergency measures in full force and application. Military operations are being carried out on a wide scale, the arrests and imprisonments without trial or indictment continue unabated, while the methods of unthinkable torture are implemented more rigorously.

4. The meaning of the United Nations resolution clearly envisages parallel action on both sides in order to create the said atmos-

phere.

Consequently, the Administration of Cyprus is compelled to put an end to all the emergency measures, which, in addition to their oppressive nature and the harsh suffering they entail, are preventing the freedom of expression and also by prohibiting my presence in Cyprus they are an obstacle to my personal contact with the Cypriot people, which I represent.

5. It is my wish to do anything I can towards implementing the aforementioned resolution of the United Nations. Consequently, I wish to state that in my endeavour to resolve the issue in a spirit of good will and mutual understanding and in accordance with the terms stipulated in the resolution, as they are recalled in paragraph 4 of this letter, I am willing and ready to participate in the name of the people of Cyprus in bilateral negotiations, based on the principle of self-determination, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

I remain invoking God's blessing on you

Archbishop Makarios and Ethnarch of Cyprus.²²⁶

The answer to the above letter was given on 30 March 1957 by the British Ambassador in Athens, Sir Roger Allen, and was addressed to the Member of the Ethnarchy in Athens, Zenon Rossides.

It stated that H.M. Government "has accepted the constructive proposals for self-government contained in the Radcliffe Report. It has ordered the release of Archbishop Makarios. In Cyprus, the emergency rules have been relaxed or withdrawn in those cases where it was safe to do so, and it has been made clear that there will be further relaxations, provided the circumstances allow it. Her Majesty's Government has also stated that it is ready to accept the good offices of an impartial conciliator between the three interested governments, in the person of the General Secretary of the Atlantic Alliance."

226. "The Complete Works of Archbishop Makarios III of Cyprus," vol. 3, pp 267-268.

The letter went on to criticize the Archbishop for his attitude towards the solution of the Cyprus problem:

*"H.M. Government regrets that there has not been a corresponding contribution on the part of the Archbishop in improving the atmosphere. Since he was set free he has made various public statements, according to which he has rejected the self-government proposals for Cyprus, which H.M. Government offered on the 19th of last December, he has refused the right of the Turkish Cypriots to participate in decisive discussions on the future of Cyprus, and has set as a condition for his participation in negotiations the permission to return to Cyprus, without being prepared to clearly disengage himself from terrorism on the Island. These statements of his have certainly not improved the prospects for an agreed solution."*²²⁷

The English did not cease their operations against EOKA. Those arrested were subjected to unheard of tortures that were organized on a scientific basis and were carried out with the use of special equipment brought in from England.

2. COMPLAINTS AGAINST THE ENGLISH FOR TORTURE AND ACTS OF BRUTALITY IN CYPRUS

Archbishop Makarios held a press conference in Athens at the offices of the Press Union on 19 June 1957. He spoke before 120 Greek and foreign journalists about the tortures and acts of brutalities the British forces in Cyprus used against arrested and detained Cypriots, presenting 317 signed testimonies of victims.

The Archbishop stated that in April 1956, two British officers, Driscoll and Linzee, were found guilty of terrible ill treatment of prisoners, but Harding issued a decree prohibiting private criminal prosecution against any member of the security forces, without permission by the Attorney General. Besides, the press was already gagged under the emergency rules, which gave the Governor the

²²⁷. "The Complete Works of Archbishop Makarios III of Cyprus," vol. 3, p. 577.

power on his own judgment to stop the printing of any newspaper or magazine carrying reports against the British Authorities.

In his press conference the Archbishop disclosed specific cases of people having been tortured. Some extracts from his long report are cited here:

1. "On 19 November 1956, Andreas Panayiotou of Polystypos village died in the Platres detention centre while being held for questioning. His body was taken for a post-mortem to Nicosia Hospital. An official announcement said that 'a post-mortem has been carried out and a death inquest will follow in due course.' To this day, no report has been announced on the post-mortem or the inquest. Panayiotou's father had been allowed to enter the hospital and see his dead son and as he left the hospital crying, he told bystanders: "My son's body was all black."

2. "On 28 February 1957 the Security Forces installed themselves at Machairas Monastery for the operation against Gregoris Afxentiou. Abbot Eirineos was then arrested under suspicion of being connected to EOKA and was subjected to interrogation. According to his signed testimony, the Abbot received blows to the head, the stomach and the sides. They dragged him by the hair and by the beard. They spat on his face shouting vile insults at him. The Abbot's ordeal lasted until the 4th of March. The torturous interrogators use many methods on their victims. They stretched the Abbot on a bed on his left side. In order to immobilize him, they passed an iron hook round his neck and placed his feet under a seat. They beat him mercilessly on the renal area and the abdomen. When they did not beat him, they pierced his chest with needles until he bled. Not being able to take any more, the Abbot passed out. When he regained consciousness, he saw an English military doctor bent over him, applying cold compresses on the wounded parts in order to prevent the appearance of blood clots and lesions. After a while they dragged him across the floor for quite some time and finally stripped him completely naked and made him stand for about three hours near the open window, shivering from the cold. I would have to talk for a long time in order to go into all the details of the Abbot's testimony."

3) "The torturous interrogators and their aides did not take pity even on a pregnant woman. Maria Lambrou from Kyrenia was arrested on 13 October 1956. She was taken to the Omorphita detention centre where she suffered blows during the interrogation, although she had drawn the interrogator's attention to the fact that she was pregnant. She describes the following in her testimony. 'On Sunday, 14 October 1956, I spoke to the officer in charge at the Omorphita Police Station about what was done to me. The interrogator came to see me again at about 8 in the night. He hit me in the presence of the person to whom I had complained, saying he would kill the baby and hack me to pieces. While he hit me I felt something cold ran through my body. The interrogator returned around midnight. He tried to intimidate me. I was lying sick in bed. At about 1 after midnight police constable number 1413 came and brought me some tea. I asked him to call a doctor, because I felt I was going to have a miscarriage. No doctor came, and around 9 p.m. on Monday I lost my baby. Doctor Zenon came and examined me in the afternoon. I was taken to the hospital, where Doctor Taliadoros performed the necessary surgery for the miscarriage.' The torturer of Maria Lambrou was sergeant Jeffrey Leach of the police Special Branch. The report of the investigation on this case was that no force had been used on Lambrou. Replying to a question in the House of Commons, the Colonial Secretary said that it was a septic miscarriage. A photocopy of a medical certificate, however, states unequivocally that the miscarriage by Lambrou was the result of violence exercised on her."

4) "Stephanos Protopapas, the 50-year old former General Secretary of the All Farmers' Union from Polystypos, also suffered terrible torture. In a lengthy signed testimony he describes how, tied on his back on an iron bed, he was subjected to the inhuman torture of artificial drowning. His interrogators covered his mouth and nostrils with a piece of thick fabric, on which they poured a mixture of benzine and water little by little for quite some time. When in this way a large quantity of the mixture had entered his stomach, he was given blows to the abdomen to make him throw up and then the or-

deal was repeated. He then describes how his testicles were beaten with a glass bottle until swollen to five times their normal size, making him urinate blood for eight days afterwards. His testimony contains shocking details about another prisoner, whom Stephanos Protopapas saw being tortured."

5. "Details that emerged during the trial of 22-year old Vasso Loizia, an unmarried girl from Trikomo, also testify to the cruel, sadistic and depraved methods systematically used by the interrogators in Cyprus. The trial started on 4 May 1957 in Nicosia before special Judge John and ended on 21 May. Specific details came to light during the trial about the ill treatment suffered by the accused and the abuse of authority by the security forces. Although the evidence submitted was most compelling, the judge found a way around it by ruling that it was up to the Governor and only him to decide if the complaint about ill treatment was valid or not. It was obvious, however, that the judge did not have any doubts about it, for he refrained from convicting Loizia and set her free on a 100-pound bail for one year. During the trial it was revealed that sergeant Leach had stripped Loizia of her clothes in the interrogation room and when she tried to hold on to her last underwear, he tore it off. She was subjected to long interrogations of 4-7 1/2 hours during the night and was beaten with a leather strap. Her inquisitors placed pencils in between the fingers of her hands and squeezed them together. The signs of the injuries were visible even after four months had passed since her arrest, as was certified in Court.

The ill treatment and humiliation of a young girl like Loizia was not a solitary case. Men of base motives, licentious appetites and sadistic instincts cowardly submitted decent Cypriot girls not only to torture, but also to shameless acts of degradation and disgrace. They stripped them completely naked and then tossed them into one another's grasp. In some of the cases they squashed their breasts and pulled out hair from the private parts of their body. Others were threatened they would be raped if they did not reveal what they knew about EOKA. Loula Kokkinou, another unmarried girl, had her front teeth punched out by a sadistic torturer. The Cyprus Govern-

ment certainly cannot deny this, since the unmanly behaviour of the interrogator has left its indelible mark.

PEKA distributed a leaflet about the ill treatment of Vasso Loizia under the title "Heroines who inspire awe and beasts that cause horror and detestation." The opening paragraph of the leaflet is cited below:

"It was with a feeling of awe that public opinion received the news about the proud attitude of the Cypriot maiden, Vasso Loizia, who suffered with agonized endurance the unheard of tortures and indecent humiliations by the vile crones of the base Marshal, whose gallantry went so far as to torture and humiliate a maiden. Had she been English, all the English papers and magazines without exception would have carried the story under banner headlines on their front pages. But it was also with a feeling of unprecedented respect that the public were informed of the admirable national dignity displayed by the Cypriot heroine, who endured the terrible torture without even for a moment abandoning the highly developed sense of virginal decency, which the English, unused to such situations by their compatriot girls, were in no position to understand."

In his press conference, Archbishop Makarios also referred to the following, which were convincing proof of the tortures committed:

*"Important disclosures about the cruelties committed by the military authorities in Cyprus are contained in a statement, which two former prison wardens of the Kokkinotrimithia detention camp, WILLIAM WICOMBE and DAVID TOON, made in the House of Commons on 16 February 1957. They described in the darkest colours the treatment of the prisoners and reported specific cases where violence had been used."*²²⁸

The Greek Government presented the issue of torture against Cypriots at the United Nations on 21 June 1957 and asked for an independent inquiry into the methods used in interrogation. The

228. "The Complete Works of Archbishop Makarios III of Cyprus," vol. 3, pp. 272-282.

Greek Government also launched a complaint with the Committee of Human Rights of the Council of Europe, which discussed the issue in its plenary session in August 1957. The Committee undertook to investigate 29 cases.²²⁹

The complaints about ill treatment of the Cypriots caused international concern. The press around the world gave coverage to the issue.

The Human Rights Committee of the Council of Europe announced on 5 July 1957 its decision to call on the British Government to suspend all the executions of Cypriots, because they had been decided under the emergency measures, and to allow for a Council of Europe delegation to go to Cyprus in order to investigate the complaints for violation of human rights.²³⁰

On 15 July 1957, the permanent representative of Greece to the U.N., Chr. Xanthopoulos-Palamas, submitted a letter to the Secretary General of the international organization asking for the following items to be included in the agenda of the next General Assembly:

1) The application under the aegis of the United Nations of the principle of equal rights and of the self-determination of peoples in the case of the population of the island of Cyprus.

2) Human rights violations and brutalities by the British Administration against Cyprus.²³¹

3. THE POSITIONS OF ARCHBISHOP MAKARIOS AND OF THE BRITISH ON THE CYPRUS QUESTION

Statement by Archbishop Makarios for a solution of the Cyprus problem based on independence, not ruling out self-determination

In the evening of 20 July 1957, Archbishop Makarios gave an interview to Melis Nicolaides, Athens correspondent of the Cypriot

229. Nikos Kranidiotis, "Cyprus in the struggle for freedom," p.164.

230. General George Grivas-Dighenis, "Memoirs," p. 188.

231. Ibid, p. 191.

newspaper "Eleftheria." The interview was published on 21 July.

To the question: "Do you consider the possibility of compromising proposals in the meantime and what are your views on these?", the Archbishop replied:

"There are no such developments on the British side for the time being, although I am of the opinion that, despite the intransigence which the British Government is displaying, it would be prepared to make certain concessions in finding a compromise solution. Since no specific proposal has been made, however, I cannot take a position on the issue. I only reiterate that the a priori safeguarding of the principle of self-determination continues always to be an indispensable condition for such a solution."

To the question: "What are your views more specifically on the plans about independence?", the Archbishop replied:

*"If it were about real independence not excluding the application of self-determination, these plans could be discussed."*²³²

On 6 September 1957, the Prime Minister of Greece, C. Karamanlis, said at a press conference that he would not reject a solution of independence for Cyprus, if this were acceptable to the Cypriot people.²³³

English moves behind the scenes to derail the Cyprus problem from the application of the principle of self-determination- The position of the British Labour Party

The British new Ambassador to Athens, Sir Roger Allen, who arrived there in the beginning of May 1957, became active behind the scenes in order to derail the Cyprus problem from the application of the self-determination principle, frustrate the appeal of Greece to the United Nations and promote a solution to the problem based on

232. "The Complete Works of Archbishop Makarios III of Cyprus," vol. 3, pp. 287-288.

233. General George Grivas-Dighenis, "Memoirs...", p. 201.

granting a form of independence that would satisfy to a large degree the demands of Turkey, while at the same time securing the strategic interests of Britain and the U.S.A. He paid successive visits to the Greek Foreign Ministry and insisted on holding a new tripartite conference of Britain, Greece and Turkey. He accompanied this proposal by the notion that the British Government "tired of the deadlock to which the unending barter of Makarios had led," did not rule out its withdrawal from Cyprus, confining itself to its military bases, whereupon the island would remain exposed to the dynamic showdown between Greece and Turkey.

His proposal for a Tripartite Conference was repeated in August 1957 but both the Ethnarch Makarios and the Greek Government rejected it.

Another move by the English behind the scenes was made through the new General Secretary of NATO, Paul Henri Spaak, on the encouragement of the U.S.A. State Secretary, Foster Dulles. The NATO General Secretary undertook to prepare a plan for the independence of Cyprus under the auspices of NATO.²³⁴

A personal testimony by Nikos Kranidiotis is sufficiently revealing about what transpired in August 1957, at a time when a team of the Ethnarchy Council in Athens was making preparations for the success of the Greek appeal to the U.N. on the Cyprus question:

"In parallel with these preparations, however, diplomatic contacts and consultations continued behind the scenes for a possible solution. In a meeting we had on 23 August, Evangelos Averoff disclosed to me that the "allied factor" was exercising very strong pressure on the Greek Government to start tripartite talks with Turkey and Great Britain aiming at the creation of an independent state, provided of course that Turkey would agree to this. Turkey, nevertheless, was reacting for the moment - as the Minister told me - because she continued to believe that an independent Cyprus would sooner or later unite with Greece, even if it were a guaranteed independence. To

234. Nikos Kranidiotis, "Difficult Years...", pp. 277-278.

the contrary, the English would accept independence, as long as they secured one or two sovereign bases on the island."²³⁵

In spite of the moves by the English to divert the Cyprus problem from the principle of self-determination, the U.N. General Assembly by a unanimous resolution on 20 September 1957, included the discussion of the issue on its agenda.

On exactly the same day, Dreiberg, the leader of the British Labour Party, in statements over the Cyprus radio before his departure from the island said that *"the British Labour Party reaffirms its pledge for the self-determination of Cyprus, that in its view the plebiscite in Cyprus will lead to Enosis, that after the union of Cyprus with Greece provision would be made to safeguard the rights of the Turks and that the strategic reasons, which Turkey invoked were unjustified."*²³⁶

On 4 October 1957, the Labour Party of Britain passed a resolution saying that, in case the opposition came to power it would give a time limit of four years for the right of self-determination to be applied to the Cypriot people. At the same time it recognized that partition would be disastrous for the island. The statement by Barbara Castle, the party deputy leader, was very clear:

"Our policy on the Cyprus issue is the application of self-determination within a set time limit. We condemn partition and state that the Labour Government will never implement it.

We state categorically that self-determination will be applied to Cyprus at a time to be determined following negotiations with the people of Cyprus. However, to avoid any misunderstanding we stress categorically that we shall implement self-determination during the parliamentary term of the first Labour Government, that is in a maximum of four years.

We state that we are committed to this policy and that our statements are not just general and vague assurances. They are clear and definite commitments. The Cypriot people are entitled to decide

235. Nikos Kranidiotis, "Difficult Years...", pp. 286-287.

236. General George Grivas-Dighenis, "Memoirs...", p. 202.

about their future and as the Labour Government we shall apply the principle of self-determination in Cyprus. The minority is entitled to guarantees for its rights, but we state that we reject partition and other illegitimate solutions of the Cyprus problem."²³⁷

4. EOKA DURING THE PERIOD OF THE TRUCE- THE RESIGNATION OF HARDING

EOKA observes its unilateral truce, although the English continue their operations

In the entire duration of the EOKA truce the English did not cease their operations against the Organisation. Dighenis wrote:

"According to intelligence reports that reached me, Harding was trying desperately through military operations, provocations and propaganda, to drag me into breaking the unilateral truce, which I had silently declared by the suspension of hostilities, in order to have an excuse to continue the war against us and the repressive measures against the population. I was not taken in and remained calm, simply trying to avoid the blows, while I was preparing to return them in a way and at a time and place I considered the circumstances appropriate.

It is extremely difficult for a non-military person to understand how much self-restraint was needed, in order to put up with a situation such as the above, indeed prolonged for months. Fortunately, I held back and being invisible myself, I succeeded in holding back the invisible army of EOKA, which remained disciplined in an exemplary way. The Greek population stood us in good stead with their discipline and absolute trust, to such an extent that in the end we emerged not only without serious damage, but also strengthened.

I do not know of many such examples in military history. Marshal Montgomery gave a fitting assessment of the situation when he

237. P. Papademetris- P. Petrides, "Historical Encyclopedia of Cyprus (1878-1978)," vol. 11, p. 254.

arrived incognito in Cyprus on 1 July 1957 for the purpose of studying the local military problems and particularly the issue of transferring the Headquarters from Cyprus to Kenya. He stated then, in his own words, that "strategically it is impossible to defeat EOKA."^{237a}

The EOKA guerrilla Evagoras Papachristoforou and the supplier Chrysanthos Mylonas are murdered in a hideout near Galata on 7 October 1957

On 7 October 1957, EOKA member Michael Assiotis murdered Evagoras Papachristoforou in cold blood inside their common hideout, situated at a distance of five miles from the village of Galata. Later he also murdered Chrysanthos Mylonas, a cousin to Evagoras, who had come to the hideout in the evening to bring food and the correspondence for the two guerrillas.

Evagoras Papachristoforou (1937-1957) was born at Kato Amiandos in the district of Limassol. He became EOKA member in the beginning of 1955. He took part in the first war operations of the Organisation in the Amiandos area, including the historical battle of Pefkos (Pine tree) between the villages of Kyperounda and Chandria (23 November 1955), which Dighenis directed himself, and in the operation at Kokkino Fanari (Red Lantern) between Amiandos and Troodos (5 December 1955). He played an important part in the escape of Dighenis after the battle near Spilia on 11 December 1955. He was arrested after an act of treachery in January 1956. He was tortured and imprisoned in the Kokkinotrimithia detention camp from where he escaped on 13 September 1956 with six other fighters. He joined the guerrilla groups of Gregoris Afxentiou in the Pitsilia region and took part in two ambushes between Pano and Kato Amiandos. In May 1957 he undertook to organize a guerrilla band in the Solea area from the hideout in which he met his inglorious death. His funeral was held in his native village in a highly charged national atmosphere.

^{237a}. General George Grivas-Dighenis, "Memoirs...", pp. 191-192.

The English did not allow his father, Papachristoforos Lazari, a political detainee, to attend his child's funeral and the other prisoners set fire to the detention camp in protest.

Chrysanthos Mylonas (1939-1957) was born in Galata, Nicosia district. He was attending the fifth form of the Solea Gymnasium when he was murdered. As an EOKA member he initiated Gymnasium students to the Organisation, distributed leaflets, painted slogans, monitored the agents of the English, concealed weapons and took part in ambushes. He later assisted the section commander in carrying out a large variety of activities. He was trained in making bombs and other explosive devices. He worked together with two fellow fighters to construct the hideout in which Evagoras and M. Assiotis were staying. The latter murdered the innocent teenage fighter at 10 p.m. on 7 October.

The Governor of Cyprus Sir John Harding submits his resignation - Sir Hugh Foot is appointed new Governor

On 21 October 1957, it was announced simultaneously in London and Nicosia that the Governor of Cyprus Sir John Harding had resigned and been replaced by Sir Hugh Foot, until then Governor of Jamaica.

Harding had used rigid and cruel measures, in the belief that he could dissolve EOKA in a few months. After two years had passed, he left the island without achieving his goal. He left for London on 4 November 1957. Since then and until the day Foot arrived in Cyprus on 3 December 1957, George Sinclair performed the duties of Governor.

Before his departure on 4 November, Harding replied to questions by journalists. To the question if he considered excessive the measures he had taken as Governor towards the Cypriot people, he said:

*"Of course not. When I arrived in Cyprus I found a brutal and inhuman Organisation, supported by an unscrupulous Church. I do not believe that my work could be done in any other way."*²³⁸

²³⁸. George Grivas-Dighenis, "Memoirs...", p. 203.

What had been Harding's work during the two years he ruled Cyprus? It was concisely recorded as follows:

*"Harding left Cyprus on 4 November leaving behind him nine gallows, detention camps crammed with people, many sentenced to life imprisonment some of whom are to be found in jails in England, hundreds of Cypriots injured and crippled by beatings and tortures, and the wrath of the Cypriot people."*²³⁹

Following Harding's replacement, the Athens newspaper "Vema" wrote:

"For almost two years a terrible duel has been fought in Cyprus between two men, General George Grivas, Leader of EOKA under the code name of Dighenis, and Marshal John Harding, former Chief of the General Imperial Staff of Great Britain. Victorious from this duel emerges the unpretentious and brave Greek army officer. When he had set his foot on Cyprus, Marshall Harding had trumpeted to the farthest corners of the Universe that within 6 months at the most, the steel web of his multitudinous army would arrest DIGHENIS and dissolve EOKA. The six months have passed. Another six have passed. Six more have gone by. And yet another six have been completed and the Marshal is returning to G. Britain empty handed, while DIGHENIS remains in Cyprus at the head of EOKA, ready to interrupt the truce he has offered when the circumstances demand it. When the history of the clandestine resistance movement of the Cypriot people is written some day, then the breathtaking epic of DIGHENIS will be shown in all its unimaginable greatness. He began his struggle in April 1955. A month later the Greek Communist Party betrayed the identity of DIGHENIS. With a handful of brave Cypriots he faced tens of thousands of British troops, who trailed him with state-of-the-art search equipment. His hardships, his privations, his personal sufferings, the dangers and difficulties were unbelievable. Perhaps world history does not have a similar exam-

239. P. Papademetris - P. Petrides "Historical Encyclopaedia of Cyprus (1878-1978)," vol. 11, p. 255.

*ple to report as in DIGHENIS' case. The subjugated fighting Cyprus and free Greece hail the victor, who has enriched the noble traditions of the Nation with one of the most shiny pages of a magnificent Greek struggle."*²⁴⁰

Following the announcement that the new Governor of Cyprus was going to be Sir Hugh Foot, the Acting Ethnarch Bishop Anthimos stated:

"If the replacement of Governor Harding means a change in the policy of the British Government towards the Cyprus issue, then in such a case the replacement must be followed by the abolition of the emergency measures, the return of the Ethnarch and the other exiles, the release of all the political prisoners and the official recognition of the right of self-determination of the Cypriot people."

*I did not happen to know Harding's successor, but I believe that if he comes under the above conditions, then he will certainly succeed."*²⁴¹

Before Foot was due to arrive in Cyprus, Dighenis said in a leaflet:

*"If Mr. Foot intends to work sincerely for the pacification of the island and the restoration of Greek - English friendship, with the ambition to be the last governor, then he will find us on his side. If not, then we are sorry, because what he calls VIOLENCE and all the freedom-loving peoples of the world and ourselves call 'FIGHT FOR FREEDOM' will go on."*²⁴²

240. General George Grivas-Dighenis, "Memoirs...", p. 203.

241. P. Papademetris - P. Petrides "Historical Encyclopedia of Cyprus (1878-1978)," vol. 11, p. 255.

242. Spyros Papageorgiou, "The Cyprus Tempest 1955- 1959," p. 584.

CHAPTER 7

THE EVENTS FOLLOWING HARDING'S RESIGNATION UNTIL THE SIGNING OF THE ZURICH - LONDON AGREEMENTS

(21 October 1957 - 19 February 1959)

The observance of the EOKA truce was one-sided and the English gave the Cyprus people a hard time. This prompted Dighenis to carry out certain acts of sabotage in order to show the English that they could not act with impunity. On 21 November 1957 a magnetic mine was placed on an English merchant ship anchored at Karavostasi. Extensive damage was caused to the Akrotiri base on 26 November 1957. In December 1957, the U.N.O. adopted a favourable resolution on Cyprus recognizing the right of self-determination for the Cypriot people, albeit without any practical result. The new Governor of Cyprus, Sir Hugh Foot, appeared friendly towards the Cypriot people, but he was in reality following the policy of the British Government, which sought a solution of the Cyprus problem in accordance with British interests. British cooperation with the Turks became even closer. The Prime Minister of Britain Harold Macmillan prepared a solution plan for Cyprus, securing only the cooperation of the Turks for its implementation. The Greeks reacted and EOKA delivered serious blows against the English. The Cyprus problem was finally solved with the signing of the Zurich-London agreements, which later led the Cypriot people to misfortunes and tragic events on account of the separatist elements they contained.

1. THE ACTIVITY OF EOKA (NOVEMBER 1957-JUNE 1958)

An EOKA sabotage at Akrotiri Base- Huge damages- EOKA succeeds in infiltrating even the English Bases

EOKA carried out a very serious act of sabotage in the Akrotiri Base

on 26 November 1957. Members of the Organisation who were employed at the base managed to perform a very difficult task with the help of Panikos Soteriou, a fifth-form student of Limassol's Lanitio Gymnasium.

Andreas Vassiliou, an Akrotiri Base employee and the protagonist of this most daring sabotage action, placed two time bombs against two airplanes on November 25. They were detonated the next day. Such a bold enterprise by a teenager demonstrated the spirit of persistence and self-sacrifice of EOKA members. This is his personal account of how the operation was carried out:

"The English technicians finished their job and left the hangar at 1 p.m., there remaining only an armed guard to keep watch on us until 4 p.m. when we would be finishing our work as well. After our lunch break, a Turk and an Armenian colleague went outside the hangar at 1.45 p.m., while a third colleague, a Greek, happened to fall asleep on a makeshift bench. At this moment and while the English guard was examining one of the planes situated in the corner next to the entrance, I went quietly to the middle of the hangar and sneaking under the wings of a 'Canberra' bomber jet, I placed the explosive device in the inside cavity next to the fuel tank. I then turned back without being seen and left the hangar.

At 2.30 p.m. I pretended to go to the toilet and left the spot where we worked with my colleagues and the guard watching us. When I reached the exit of the hangar I did not go out but turned in the opposite direction and hiding behind the bulk of the planes I placed the other bomb in the dead end of an opening on the left side of one of them, the same type as the first one. It was a spot almost adjacent to the fuel tank. After that I returned by the same route and rejoined my colleagues.

When I came to Limassol in the evening, I gave a report to those in charge and waited for the results. On the following day, the 26th of November, I went to work as usual, so as not to arouse the suspicions of the English after the explosions, but I realized that nothing had happened in the hangar.

I found myself in a very difficult situation, because I would be

*giving myself away if I left work and the English technician working on the planes in the meantime were to discover the bombs, in spite of how well I had hidden them. On the other hand, the bombs could go off at any moment, killing me and everybody else in the hangar. Nevertheless, I carried on working until 4 p.m. when we finished."*²⁴³

Dighenis wrote about the affair:

"The bombs, two of them, were placed inside the engines of two 'Canberra' bomber jets. At about 16.15h the fuel tanks of the planes blew up. In a matter of seconds the flames engulfed the tin-made hangar, which was 130 metres long 20 metres high and housed 4 'Canberra' jets and one 'Venom.' The whole structure collapsed and was completely destroyed, together with all the planes and other material, consisting of plane motors and lathes. None of those who carried out this sabotage was ever arrested. This was the most destructive act of its kind in the history of the island and of England. The damage caused was estimated at 4.5 million pounds."^{243a}

Two fighters escape from the Pyla detention camp

Two fighters imprisoned in the Pyla detention camp, Nikos Koshis and Tefkros Loizou, carried out a daring enterprise on 10 January 1958. They escaped in a clever way fooling the guards with the assistance of other inmates. The two EOKA members hid in an empty oil barrel each, which had been loaded on a small supply truck, without the driver knowing anything about the human cargo he was carrying. One of the barrels capsized at a road bump and Tefkros Loizou was thrown off. The driver stopped. Nikos then got out of his hiding place as well. The astonished driver came face to face with the two fighters, who told him to take them to the tourist office of Nikos Demetriou in Larnaca. From there another car took

243. "Chronicle of EOKA 1955-1959 of Limassol Town and District by SAPEL," pp. 219-220.

243a. General George Grivas-Dighenis, "Memoirs...", p. 214.

them to Nicosia to the house of Kapis Gavrielides, where there was a hideout. There a most strange coincidence occurred. While the two escapees were hiding in Gavrielides' house, Paicrant, the officer who had the overall responsibility for the detention camps, arrived at a dinner invitation in the evening with a strong security escort, who thus came to guard over the two wanted men as well!

Later the two escapees went their separate ways. Tefkros Loizou moved to Paphos district. Nikos Koshis went to an area in the district of Nicosia. Both offered valuable services to the EOKA struggle, especially as section commanders.²⁴⁴

Dighenis raises the banner of passive resistance

In the beginning of March 1958, Dighenis issued a proclamation to the Cyprus people by which the banner of passive resistance against the English was raised. The passive resistance by the people aimed at drawing the attention of international public opinion to the struggle it was waging and to demonstrate its firm determination to fight for freedom with all the means at its disposal.

In his proclamation announcing the passive resistance Dighenis rallied the Cypriot people to:

"TOTAL war. This means we shall fight the enemy everywhere. We shall fight his economy, his administrative measures. Passive resistance of the population to anything everybody can contribute."

In a subsequent proclamation under the title "Forward to the new battle," Dighenis said:

"My main aim is:

1. To show to the civilized world, but also to the colonialists and their cronies, that the Cypriot people, who have not spared their blood, are determined to give EVERYTHING for their freedom.

2. To show also that the Struggle of the Cypriot people is not 'a struggle by a few hotheads,' as the English colonialists noisily claim, but a struggle in which the ENTIRE Cypriot people is participating.

244. Yiannis Chr. Spanos, "EOKA-This is how Greeks fight," vol. 1, pp. 491-497.

*3. To shout loudly once again and in a way that will rock the foundations of the colonial regime in Cyprus, that "Cyprus is for the Cypriots" and that the toils of the Cypriot people will be reaped by the people themselves, who not only want but are also capable of looking after their own affairs, and that the colonial Government is already but a shadow and therefore redundant."*²⁴⁵

The economic boycott against the English caused the Cyprus Government damages amounting to around ten million pounds. The psychological and economic consequences were also felt in Britain, as newspaper articles of that time clearly showed.

EOKA activity in March 1958-

The splendid celebrations of 25th March

On 4 March 1958, Dighenis ordered the section commands to resume action, initially confined to attacks on material targets. He even applied a novel pattern, whereby all the sections would not take action simultaneously but successively.

The new EOKA activity caused concern to the military in Cyprus and to the British Government in London. Governor Foot held a meeting with his political and military advisers on 21 March to consider how to deal with the situation.

Dighenis by a new order on 31 March left the initiative to the section commands, but stressing again that they should attack targets that would spare human casualties.

On the occasion of the two national anniversaries, the 25th of March 1821 and the 1st of April 1955, the EOKA leader issued a proclamation highlighting the spirit of sacrifice displayed by the freedom fighters in the two uprisings of Hellenism. Specifically for the struggle of the Cypriot people he said among other things:

"Today the mountains and the plains are full of warriors and brave young men as they then were. Today, just like then, there is ruin, destruction, hecatombs, and death everywhere. Just like then

245. General George Grivas-Dighenis, "Memoirs...", pp. 232, 360.

so today FAITH in victory remains inexhaustible, with the brave young men of EOKA marching ahead, carrying the torch of freedom and showing the way. There are hecatombs everywhere. But on them flies the flag of the struggle, to be taken down only when victory comes and then to be replaced with the blue and white Greek flag."²⁴⁶

The 25th March celebrations were magnificent all over the island. Great enthusiasm prevailed everywhere and the dominant cry was that of 'ENOSIS.'

The third anniversary of 1st April - A general strike in Cyprus - Unrest in the Kokkinotrimithia detention camp

The third anniversary of 1st April was observed with celebrations throughout Cyprus. On the same day, Dighenis distributed the following proclamation in which he stressed the resolve of EOKA to continue the Struggle until the final victory:

"1st APRIL

'FORWARD, CHILDREN OF THE GREEKS, LIBERATE THE FATHERLAND' (Trans. note 9)

We are entering the fourth year since the war paean, well known to the Greek race, has echoed in Cyprus. The 1st of April is a historic anniversary for all the Greeks. A page of new glory; a new Greek Pantheon, new legends, new holocausts, glory to Cyprus, honour and pride for all the Greeks. For, what has been done in three years is inconceivable, unbelievable, and history has few similar feats to show.

A handful of besieged fighters armed with COURAGE and having FAITH as their companion against an Empire of 500 million, are delivering mighty blows to the all-powerful Goliath, who relies on material force. JUSTICE, which inspires and brings forth the MORAL

FORCES and gives rise to the noblest ideals, is fighting here against INJUSTICE and brute force.

This is why we are holding out and keep all-powerful adversaries occupied, and will hold out until we win. This is why there are so many heroic deeds, self-sacrifices, so much endurance and perseverance. This is why the 'MOLON LABE' of Leonidas and the 'AERAS' of the Evzones are echoing in the air of Cyprus and scare the tyrant. (Trans. n. 10) Finally, this is why the more the pressure the oppressor exercises on us, the more our courage grows.

Anyone can assess our work, for it is evident for all to see. We have won a moral victory. An Empire is shocked and humiliated. Cyprus, unknown to many, even to diplomats, is today in the international spotlight and has become a big 'headache' to the Anglo-Americans and a cancer for the English. The liberal peoples are on our side.

We have won a victory on the military field. An army of 36 thousand men is being defeated and a shamed Marshal is forced to leave.

Neither the spider webs nor the curfews, the firing of weapons or the detention camps and the tortures have succeeded in taming us. To the contrary, we have TAMED the enemy. From being the free besieged, we have in effect besieged the enemy and keep them pinned down in their camps.

Today, stronger than ever and with our ranks being daily swollen with fresh recruits from the inexhaustible reserves of our youth, tempered in the struggle and with fighting experience, we stand face to face with the ENEMY and shout to them:

The age of bowing is over. Gone is the age of living at the expense of the small and weak. Today JUSTICE and MORALITY shall prevail. Neither the shameful Anglo-American alliance against us, a stain on modern civilization, nor the Anglo-Turkish collusion, a blackmailing device for opportunists and knaves, can make us bend.

246. General George Grivas-Dighenis, "Memoirs...", pp. 236-237.

Transl. note 9. «Τε, παῖδες Ελλήνων, ελευθεροῦτε πατρίδα.» Aeschylus "Persians," 402.

Trans. n. 10. "AERAS" meaning "wind" was the battle cry of the Greek army during the victorious Albanian campaign against Mussolini's Italy in 1940-41. Evzones were the kilt-dressed elite corps of the Greek army.

We are ALL READY. With the sling of David, but also with his soul we shall stand against you, ironclad though you are. And we shall defeat you.

As military leader I SHALL ACCEPT NO SOLUTION AND SHALL LISTEN TO NO ONE'S VOICE BUT TO THAT OF THE FIGHTING CYPRUS. And this voice is following me everywhere and compels me: no compromise. Total war. FREEDOM OR DEATH.

E.O.K.A. THE LEADER DIGHENIS.²⁴⁷

An island-wide general strike took place on 1st April 1958 demanding a) the return to Cyprus of all the Cypriot prisoners being held in English jails and b) the release of all those detained without trial.

The demonstrations continued into the next days, culminating in the uprising on Good Thursday, April 10, of the political prisoners at the Kokkinotrimithia detention camp. This was one of the most impressive mass protests of the fighting Cypriot people. It was carried out at the order of Dighenis and everything had been organized in absolute secrecy to the smallest detail by the coordinated effort of the members of the political detainees' Council inside the camp. Manolis Savvides, one of the political detainees gave a vivid account of events. Here are two extracts from his narration:

a) "When the signal was given at 11 in the morning the camp was set ablaze and black smoke covered all its sections. At the same time the noise of breaking glass from doors and windows could be heard. All the doors of the barracks, including even those of the sergeants' huts which were along the corridors of the camp, were completely destroyed or given over to the flames, as were some wooden poles supporting the inside barbed wire. Some of the barracks had their entire façade torn away from them. The interior guards were terrorized by the unexpected and abandoned their positions, running panicky towards the buildings where the administration and the permanent garrison of the camp were housed. The entire camp presented

247. General George Grivas-Dighenis, "Memoirs...", pp. 241-242.

a picture of devastation. It took the English twenty whole minutes to recover and send reinforcements as well as the fire brigade to impose order in the camp.

According to the plan, as soon as we finished what we had to do, we gathered in our barracks and started to sing the national anthem and various patriotic songs. We had orders to maintain a non-provocative attitude after the sabotage, so as not give an excuse to the English to attack us.

When the army arrived in full military gear, they took over the administration of the camp and throughout the day they kept provoking us with insults and foul language.

In the afternoon there was a roll call of all the prisoners. The night that followed was similar to that of St. Bartholomew's in French history. When we lay down to sleep inside the barracks, the soldiers began throwing stones through the smashed doors and windows, injuring quite a few of us. To avoid injury, we covered our heads with the blankets and mattresses. Late at night the soldiers entered the barracks and as we lay in our beds they overturned them, throwing us to the floor. The stoning continued throughout the night on the tin roofs and sides of the barracks to prevent us from falling asleep. And indeed, nobody closed an eyelid during the night of Good Thursday.

2) "Easter Sunday. The Easter of 1958 was the worst we ever had and none of the prisoners will ever forget it. We were not allowed to go to the chapel, but we gathered early in the morning and chanted the "Christ is risen." We had hardly finished when the soldiers came, insulting us and pushing us outside for a check. The confinement ended at about 1.30 p.m. and they let us circulate within the camp. In this way we were able to communicate with the other wings through the barbed wire. From a newspaper, which was smuggled in we learnt that a general strike had been called in our support. The tense situation continued until 4.5.1958 when the army withdrew. In the meantime the searches and provocations continued. Quite a few prisoners were sent off to the central prison, others were punished with bread and water only, isolated in a special

dark chamber. One prisoner had the palm of his hand run through with a bayonet. A rough estimate brought the damages from the uprising in the camp to a cost of five thousand pounds."²⁴⁸

Other events in April 1958

On 6 April, an EOKA guerrilla group attacked the Koutrafas police station and blew up the building, causing extensive damage.

On 14 April the English discovered bombs hidden in the "Hereon" cinema of Famagusta and blew it up.

On 21 April, Dighenis issued a proclamation, calling on the British Government to give a solution to the Cyprus problem. He wrote:

*"Before I order a general campaign, I consider it my duty to ask the British Government to undertake soon an initiative for negotiations with the aim of solving the Cyprus problem...As a humanist I want to avoid new bloodshed, which I see as very great this time, because we shall fight more obstinately and with the slogan: 'ALL FOR ALL.' As a leader I mean to obey the voice of Cyprus, which compels me to die or liberate it. The British Government will bear the responsibility for whatever happens."*²⁴⁹

Governor Foot and the British Government did not respond to Dighenis' appeal. The armed soldiers continued their violence against unarmed citizens. Dighenis distributed the following leaflet, dated 26 April 1958 under the title "To Governor Foot":

"The brutalities of your praetorian guards against political hostages are causing disgust and indignation and they are smearing today's civilization. The violence of armed soldiers against unarmed citizens, confined within barbed wire, is nothing but COWARDICE. You ask for calm to prevail when those under your orders provoke and continue the intimidations and harassment of the people all over the countryside and the improper behaviour towards them. I give you a two-day deadline from the day of this announcement to lift all meas-

248. George Grivas - Dighenis, "Chronicle...", pp. 76-77.

249. General George Grivas-Dighenis, "Memoirs...", p. 246.

ures against the political detainees, otherwise I shall strike at the English in retaliation."²⁵⁰

A new harsh law by Foot

In May 1958, acting under pressure from the military, Foot signed a law imposing the death sentence as the only penalty for those carrying weapons or being in possession of weapons or explosives.

2. POLITICAL EVENTS (NOVEMBER 1957-JUNE 1958)

The debate on the Cyprus problem at the U.N. in December 1957- School demonstrations - Students of the Pancyprian Gymnasium on the roof of the Severios Library clash with security forces - The U.N. resolution

As already mentioned, Greece launched an appeal with the United Nations on 15 July 1957 by which a) it asked for the principle of self-determination to be applied in the case of the people of Cyprus and b) it reported the violations of human rights and the brutalities by the British Administration against the Cypriots.

In a memorandum to the Secretary General of the U.N. dated 14 September 1957, the Greek Government said *"no progress has been made towards solving the problem of delivering the people of Cyprus from colonial rule and applying the principle of self-determination."*

In another part of the memorandum it was stressed that *"it must be understood that no solution of the Cyprus issue can be achieved without the consent of the people of Cyprus."*

In the second part of the memorandum, the Greek Government said:

"Methods and acts of physical and mental torture applied against human beings and proscribed by international law as crimes against

250. General George Grivas-Dighenis, "Memoirs...", pp. 248-249.

humanity, constitute a provocation to the British people and the international community."²⁵¹

Archbishop Makarios and the Foreign Minister of Greece, Evangelos Averoff, went to New York, the latter accompanied by his aides, to support the appeal of the Greek Government.

On 18 September 1957, the Procedural Committee of the U.N. approved the inscription of the Cyprus problem on the agenda with 11 votes in favour and 4 abstentions. The General Assembly adopted the suggestion by the Procedural Committee on 20 September without any objection.

The discussion of the Cyprus problem in the Political Committee began on 9 December 1957. On that day a general strike was held in Cyprus. Taking part in it were also school students, who organized demonstrations. The school demonstrations were repeated on the following day. In the demonstration in Nicosia, the students of the Pancyprian Gymnasium clashed with the security forces near the Holy Archbishopric and there were many injured on both sides.

An extract from the report of the Cypriot newspaper "Ethnos" dated 11 December 1957, gives an account of the events:

"The incidents started at 9 in the morning when the students of the Gymnasium's central wing noticed during the school break that military vehicles had been stationed around the school building. The students considered this to be a provocation and refused to return to their classes. Before the break an English officer had gone inside the school and asked the Principal if the school was functioning. Mr. Spyridakis answered that the students were attending classes as usual and suggested the military vehicles withdrew so as not to cause confusion among the students.

The vehicles, however, remained there and around 9 a.m. the students began to climb on the roof of the Severios Library and to gather in the schoolyard, refusing to enter their classrooms as long as the

251. P. Papademetris-P. Petrides, 'Historical Encyclopedia of Cyprus (1878-1978),' vol. 11, pp. 238-239.

military vehicles continued to be parked around the school. The security forces then started using teargas, whereupon the students raised the Greek flag on the Severios Library and began to chant patriotic songs.

Cars bringing Turkish auxiliary policemen and passing below the library were stoned, as was any member of the security forces. Stones, empty bottles, tiles and pieces of wood rained down from the students, while tear gas shells reached them in return one after the other. After a 15-minute stormy exchange, the security forces surged forward and forcing the main door open they entered the library and climbed to the roof, where they engaged in hand-to-hand clashes with the students. Many students then retreated through the rear side doors of the schoolyard, still clashing on several occasions with the security forces.

About 30 students were injured, most of which were taken to hospital by military ambulances. Others were admitted to private clinics...

*The soldiers entered the school and in chasing the students, they caused damages amounting to several hundreds of pounds. Windowpanes were smashed, most of the doors were damaged and a bust of the national hero Regas Fereos, which stood in the main corridor, was almost completely destroyed. The security forces destroyed many school books, which the students had left behind in the classrooms or their bicycles parked in the schoolyard."*²⁵²

A Turkish Cypriot policeman was among those injured in the clashes and this gave the pretext to the Turkish Cypriot mob to plunder Greek shops in the Turkish quarter.

On 11 December 1957, the Cypriot EOKA convicts who were kept in London prisons went on a hunger strike a) in support of the ongoing U.N. debate on Cyprus and b) to protest against a statement by the British representative to the U.N. which claimed that the reports about Cypriots being tortured were unfounded.

252. P. Papademetris - P. Petrides, "Historical Encyclopedia of Cyprus (1878-1978)," vol.11, pp. 240-241.

The British representative, Allen Noble, was the first speaker in the UN Political Committee debate on Cyprus, who said that after the release of Archbishop Makarios, his government had proposed new tripartite talks and NATO mediation for the solution of the Cyprus problem, but the Greek Government had rejected them.

The Greek Foreign Minister, Evangelos Averoff, defended the right of the Cypriot people to self-determination and said that any differences that existed in solving the Cyprus problem were between Britain and the Cyprus people and not between anybody else.

The Turkish representative, Selim Sarper, supported the British proposal for tripartite talks and insisted on the partition of Cyprus. He even said that Cyprus had never been Greek.

The Soviet representative supported the Greek position.

The representative of the U.S.A. suggested bilateral talks, supported certain of the British views and concluded by saying that the United Nations should not proceed to decide on the issue under consideration.

Following the discussion, the Cyprus problem had reached the final voting stage in the Political Committee. The Greek delegation insisted that the draft resolution which it had submitted to the U.N. on 7 December, be put to the vote first. The draft resolution expressed the wish *"that the Cyprus people be granted the opportunity to decide its own future through the application of the right of self-determination."* The voting took place and the result was 33 votes in favour, 18 against and 27 abstentions.

The Turkish representative objected and asked for a separate vote on each paragraph and a final vote on the resolution as a whole. The result of the final vote was a different one: 33 in favour, 20 against and 25 abstentions. The opponents of the Greek delegation had succeeded in turning two blank votes into negative ones.

The decision of the Political Committee was put to the plenary session of the General Assembly on 14 December. It was approved with 31 votes in favour, 23 against and 24 abstentions. This result did not secure the 2/3 majority required and therefore it could not be implemented. Practically it did not lead to the solution of the problem, but

it had a political and moral significance. For the first time the right of the Cypriot people to self-determination had been recognized at an international level.

The resolution was the following:

"The General Assembly, having considered the problem of Cyprus,

Having reaffirmed its resolution No 1013 of 26th February 1957,

Expressing its concern that no further progress has been made towards the solution of this problem,

Considering further that the situation in Cyprus is still dangerous and that a solution is required the soonest possible for the maintenance of peace and stability in this region,

*Expresses the strong wish for further negotiations and discussions to be undertaken in a spirit of cooperation towards the application of the right of self-determination in the case of the people of Cyprus."*²⁵³

In a letter to Archbishop Makarios dated 2 January 1958, Dighe-
nis wrote:

*"Although the United Nations resolution is not satisfactory for us, it was a slap across the face of England, which I believe she has felt."*²⁵⁴

Sir Hugh Foot assumes his duties as Governor of Cyprus on 3 December 1957

The new Governor of Cyprus, Sir Hugh Foot, arrived on the island and assumed his duties on 3 December 1957. Before coming to Cyprus he passed from London. There he stayed for a few days and described the Cyprus question as "the most complicated problem in the world." He was met at the airport by the interim Governor George Sinclair and the chief of operations against EOKA lieutenant general Kendrew. After his swearing in, he gave a reception at Gov-

253. P. Papademetris - P. Petrides. "Historical Encyclopedia of Cyprus (1878-1978)," vol. 11, pp. 244-245.

254. Spyros Papageorgiou, "The Cyprus Tempest 1955-1959," p. 592.

ernment House to which he invited Greeks and Turks. Only high-ranking civil servants attended on the Greek side.

Foot, who had served in Cyprus before as colonial Secretary, tried to change the climate left by his predecessor. He invited foreign correspondents to Government House and told them:

*"I return to Cyprus as your friend and servant. I come with an open mind and without prejudice. I am well aware of the difficulties, but, as far as I can help it, I shall try to meet and talk with as many Cypriots as I can, in all parts of the island and from all the communities and social classes. I shall always be available to those of you who want to meet me."*²⁵⁵

On the day Foot arrived in Cyprus, Dighenis distributed a leaflet under the title "To Sir Hugh Foot," in which among other things he said:

"You have a reputation as a liberal man of democratic principles. The English press and the politicians in England praise you and declare that you come to Cyprus with the will and resolve to give a solution to the Cyprus problem. ... We sincerely want to contribute to the pacification and to the restoration of our former relations. We therefore offer you our hand and say to you: Call our representative and Ethnarch MAKARIOS to the island and talk with him in an atmosphere of mutual understanding. Talk with sincerity and honesty and not with a double-face to deceive us, as your predecessor did. Talk about a solution based on justice. And justice dictates that this brave and heroic people should be granted the inalienable right of any people to decide its own fate. No expediency should make it possible to smother justice and force a people to sigh and suffer. The pseudo-constitution is good only for the drawers of the Colonial Office. Cyprus at this moment is a steaming volcano and it depends on your stance whether it will resume its activity or it will die down... We do not bow our heads to anyone, nor do we submit to threats.

255. P. Papademetris - P. Petrides, " Historical Encyclopedia of Cyprus (1878-1978," vol. 11, p. 256.

*We claim our right, we fight and fall heroically. The above is a warning, honest and sincere. We would wish the same honesty and sincerity on your part."*²⁵⁶

In a show of good will, Dighenis gave the new Governor a time of grace and suspended the activity of EOKA. He issued an order to all the section commanders, pressing on them to maintain absolute calm and to avoid any incidents against the English.

Foot took some measures that would contribute to the easing of tension, such as the release of a number of prisoners, the lifting of movement restrictions against certain individuals and a curtailment of operations by the security forces. On 22 December, he released 11 young women held in the central prison and 112 men from the detention camps, including 12 priests. On 23 December 1957, another 112 prisoners were set free, including again 12 priests.

How various states viewed the Cyprus problem at the end of 1957

The book under the title "My Deposition" by Glafkos Clerides is very illuminating on this point:

" At the end of 1957 the Greek Government reviewed the situation and noted the following:

1) *The U.S.A. Government warmly supported a solution to the Cyprus problem that would be based on the establishment of an independent Republic, and was pressuring Greece and Turkey to start immediate negotiations on this basis.*

2) *The NATO allies of Greece and NATO itself preferred a solution based on independence.*

3) *The majority of the U.N. members, and especially the former colonies headed by India, supported the independence of Cyprus.*

4. *The socialist bloc, not wanting to see Cyprus under a NATO country or partitioned among NATO countries, felt that independence offered better possibilities to avoid this.*

256. General George Grivas-Dighenis, " Memoirs...", p. 215.

5. The British Government was advancing its plans for the partition of the island, in case it was forced to abandon its sovereignty on the island.

6. The possibility of convincing the U.N.O. to adopt a resolution calling for the application of the right of self-determination by the Cypriot people was far removed and perhaps non-existent.

The Greek Government reached the conclusion that the advice given by the U.S. for immediate negotiations aiming at independence was the right course to follow. Towards this it was decided to send Mr. George Pesmazoglou as new ambassador to Ankara, charged with the task of sounding out the Turkish reactions to the idea of Greece abandoning its position for self-determination – Enosis, in return for Turkey abandoning its demand for partition and both countries agreeing on a formula for independence." (volume 1, pp. 53-54)

Statement by Archbishop Makarios on 8 January 1958 regarding the relations between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots

Due to the fact that the relations between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots often reached a point of high tension because of bi-communal unrest, Archbishop Makarios made a statement to Reuters on 8 January 1958, calling on the Greek Cypriots to have friendly relations with the Turkish Cypriots, with whom they would live together under any circumstances. The statement was the following:

"The relations between the Greeks and the Turks of the Island had in the past been most friendly and harmonious. Even when there was war between Greece and Turkey, the two cohabiting elements continued to cooperate in full accord and to maintain their cordial relations undisturbed. Recent events may have affected these relations, but to a limited extent. Basically the relations of the great bulk of the two cohabiting elements continue to be friendly and cordial. It would grieve us deeply if we saw this warm togetherness and cooperation of the two cohabiting elements interrupted, the interests of which are common and their prosperity interlinked.

*In my capacity as religious and national leader of the Greek Cypriot people I appeal strongly to the Greeks of Cyprus to continue to surround the Turkish element with love, support and cordiality and to cultivate further the friendly relations with it. The Greeks and Turks of Cyprus will live together under any circumstances and under any regime. For this reason we look upon the prosperity of the island's minority as a basic factor for the happiness and progress of the whole. We are certain that the Turks of Cyprus will show understanding and will respond to these our sentiments."*²⁵⁷

English mobility during 1958 for a solution of the Cyprus problem, not acceptable to the Cyprus people – Decisions by Dighenis

During 1958 the English became active towards a solution to the Cyprus problem, which was not acceptable to the Cypriot people. The Turks went along with them and the English made regular use of Turkish arguments in official statements.

The British Cabinet discussed the Cyprus problem on 2 January 1958. Foot took part in the meeting, having gone to London on 30 December 1957 for this purpose. During his stay in London he conferred with the Colonial Secretary, Lennox-Boyd. The Cabinet meetings went on until 6 January. The political fermentation and the Ministerial meetings continued over the next days in London. Foot stayed there until 18 January.

The Prime Minister of Britain, Harold Macmillan, on a tour to Commonwealth countries in January 1958, stated in Ceylon:

*"The Cyprus problem is a double issue, partly international and partly strategic." And he added: "It is impossible to achieve a solution, unless we succeed in getting all the interested parties to act together. Turkey would consider it a strategic risk if Cyprus were to fall into non-friendly hands."*²⁵⁸

257. "The Complete Works of Archbishop Makarios III of Cyprus," vol. 3, p. 235.

258. General George Grivas-Dighenis, "Memoirs...", p. 219.

The Turkish Foreign Minister Zorlu in statements he made to the Turkish News Agency on 10 January said a) that he had *"on various occasions received assurances by the British Government that no decision will be taken on the future of Cyprus, before the views of Turkey were sought"* and b) that *"Turkey insists firmly on its view about the partition of the island."*²⁵⁹

In another statement on 29 January the same Turkish Minister said:

*"Turkey considers that a silent agreement exists with Britain, according to which G. Britain will not take any action in resolving the Cyprus issue without Turkey's consent."*²⁶⁰

The British Foreign Secretary Selwyn Lloyd on 24 January went to Ankara for talks on the Cyprus problem with the Turkish leadership. Two days later Foot also left for Ankara, having been asked by Lloyd to join him.

On 10 February, the British Foreign Secretary visited Athens for talks on the Cyprus issue, in which Foot also participated. According to press information, Archbishop Makarios had stated to the Greek Government the basic positions of the Cypriot people: a) any transitional solution to the Cyprus problem must specify the application of unfettered self-determination and b) the partition of Cyprus is unacceptable, and similarly the creation of bases on the island manned by Turks, as well as tripartite talks between Britain, Greece and Turkey.

On 12 February, the talks reached a deadlock and were interrupted.

During his stay in Athens, Foot had a meeting with Archbishop Makarios, each presenting his views without any negotiation being carried out. The Archbishop had asked: a) For the emergency measures to be lifted. b) For the dismissal of all the Turkish Cypriot aux-

iliary policemen. c) For the protection of the Greek Cypriots from the Turkish riots. The meeting took place on 19 February.

The Greek Consul in Cyprus wrote to Dighenis about the Athens talks:

"No specific plan was submitted on the English side, but an attempt has been made to underline the difficulties on account of Turkish intransigence, which went as far as to threaten a clash with Greece, and that on the Greek side it was repeated that threats did not scare her and that she was ready to face any eventuality. The idea of a Turkish base was brought up vaguely and randomly as a possible substitute for partition. However, they met with a categorical and firm reaction from Greece, which refused even to hear about such a possibility. The main positive result of the talks is that the English have realized that it is not possible to count on the Turkish intransigence in order to avoid their own responsibilities for a Cyprus solution, because they also have to face the Greek intransigence as well, which indeed is put forward in such a manner as to place them in a more difficult position internationally than does the Turkish attitude."

On the same issue Archbishop Makarios sent the following letter to Dighenis on 21 February 1958:

*"The English did not submit specific proposals, but repeatedly stressed that any plan for the solution of the problem is acceptable to them, under the condition that in some way it satisfies Turkey as well. They tried to find out whether we are prepared to cede a Turkish base in Cyprus, if we were given self-government for a brief period of time, after which the people would decide freely about its future. It is a fact that the issue has been placed on a new basis. They are not talking about granting a self-government constitution providing or not for self-determination, but about finding a way of satisfying Turkey. We are going through a critical stage, but I am sure that with careful handling we shall overcome this crisis and more favourable circumstances will be created for us."*²⁶¹

259. Ibid, p. 222.

260. Nikos Kranidiotis, "Difficult years....," p. 308.

261. "The Complete Works of Archbishop Makarios III of Cyprus," vol. 3, p. 354.

The overall attitude of the British Government towards a solution of the Cyprus problem, led Dighenis to take the following decisions:

1. To initiate preparatory activity for passive resistance and prepare the people to go along.
2. The entire effort during this period should be towards the passive resistance of the people. Armed action would be taken only when it was beneficial to the struggle.
3. To prepare for measures that would be needed to counter possible hostile action by the Turkish Cypriots.
4. To boost the morale of the people. A Solid Unitary National Front (EAEM) should be established, aiming to strengthen discipline and coherence among the population, so as to prevent it from taking isolated action and getting carried away by opportunists. EAEM would receive guidance from PEKA.

The Human Rights Sub-Committee of the Council of Europe arrives in Cyprus

The Human Rights Sub-committee of the Council of Europe came to Cyprus on 12 January 1958, to investigate the application of the Greek Government against the British Authorities for human rights violations on the island.

On this occasion, Dighenis distributed the following leaflet:

"TO THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMITTEE

The freedom-fighting Cypriot people welcomes your arrival to our island with sincere joy and regrets that circumstances do not permit it to lavish on you the hospitality, which it would have liked to and constitutes a traditional Greek heritage.

Being top legal authorities of your countries, to which you do honour, we rely on your honesty, integrity and impartiality to render justice, in accordance with the written and unwritten moral laws and, by verifying the English abuses and excesses, to contribute to the restoration of the functioning of human rights, so as to end the oppression and brutalities, which, being perpetrated against a People in the twentieth century, are a stain on civilization.

We have been forced to take up arms, the last resort of all the en-

slaved Peoples who want to regain their freedom, because every time we asked the Ruling power for a peaceful settlement, we always heard with contempt from them a resounding 'NEVER.'

The Sovereign of the island continues the same tactics today, showing that he does not wish a peaceful settlement, but through the adoption of an intransigent stance and the application of oppressive and illiberal measures, he hopes to strangle the cry for justice by a small but heroic people, whose only sin is his unbending will to decide alone about its future and to live free.

A comparison of our acts, which the English propaganda describes as "terrorism," with those of our adversary, who like to call themselves the guardian of liberal and democratic principles, will show clearly that we have respected the unwritten laws of resistance movements laid down during the last war, and despite the provocations of the English Authorities we did not carry out reprisals, not even when they indiscriminately and unjustifiably murdered children, old people and women. I am a soldier imbued with the moral principles of Greek History and shall remain such. More than anything else, what comes out clearly in a conflict is the character of the leaders and the civilized nature of the combatants.

Once again I wish for your work to be a fruitful one.

E.O.K.A. THE LEADER DIGHENIS. ^{261a}

The Human Rights Committee met with the administrative secretary John Reddaway, the Public Prosecutor, the Bishop of Kition and the English director of the paper "Times of Cyprus." They also visited the Pyla detention camp, as well as Milikouri village, which had suffered under curfew for 54 days during the army operations in the Troodos area for the capture of Dighenis.

The Committee left Cyprus on 29 January 1958 having completed its work.

^{261a}. General George Grivas-Dighenis, "Memoirs...", p. 227.

Foot leaves for London -

Dighenis on this occasion distributes a leaflet

On 3 May it was announced that Foot would be going to London for talks with the British Government. On the day of his departure, the 6th of May, Dighenis distributed the following leaflet:

"TO THE GOVERNOR MR. FOOT

During your trip to London, notify your Government:

1) If they are intent, as they threaten, on IMPOSING a solution to their liking and opposed to that of self-determination, they are wasting their time, because neither the militarist measures will tame us, nor their sly promises. The black November of 1956 will be nothing compared to what you shall suffer, despite any preventive or suppressive measures you might take.

2) If they are intent on involving the Turkish factor actively against us or ceding Turkish bases in Cyprus, then THEY ARE PLAYING WITH FIRE. We are determined to play 'ALL FOR ALL.' And in this fight of ours WE SHALL NOT BE ALONE.

We do not know what the British Government is thinking or if there is any truth in what it deliberately attributes to statements by colonial governments or Greek personalities. As far as we are concerned they are reckoning without the landlord. And the ONLY landlord in Cyprus is the CYPRUS PEOPLE, NOBODY ELSE.

E.O.K.A. THE LEADER DIGHENIS.²⁶²

The partnership plan of Macmillan

On 19 June 1958, the British Prime Minister, Harold Macmillan, announced in the House of Commons a partnership plan for the political settlement of the Cyprus problem. The plan envisaged the appointment of "a Greek Government representative and a Turkish Government representative, who would cooperate with the Governor" and provided for the implementation of a new constitution, which did not allow for any change of regime for seven years.

²⁶². Ibid, p. 250.

The 5th paragraph of the plan referred to the proposed constitution and said:

"A new constitution providing for a representative government and communal autonomy, will be drafted in consultation with representatives of the two Communities and of the Governments of Greece and Turkey. Main provisions of the new constitution:

a) *Separate House of Representatives for each community, with final legislative power over communal affairs.*

b) *One Council, presided over by the Governor and including representatives of the Governments of Greece and Turkey and six elected Ministers emanating from the two Houses of Representatives (four Greek Cypriots and two Turkish Cypriots), which will exercise authority on internal affairs, excepting communal affairs and internal security.*

c) *Reserved powers for the Governor, acting on the advice of the representatives of Greece and Turkey to safeguard communal interests.*

d) *The power for external affairs, defence and internal security shall be reserved for the Governor, acting on the advice of the representatives of Greece and Turkey.*

e) *Provision whereby the representatives of Greece and Turkey may reserve for consideration by an impartial court any legislation, which they deem as discriminatory.*"²⁶³

Following the announcement of the partnership plan, Macmillan said that if the Governments of Greece and Turkey accepted the plan, the British Government would, after the completion of its seven-year application, proceed to a permanent settlement of the problem, whereby the sovereignty of Cyprus could be divided between its Greek and Turkish allies, with Britain itself retaining the bases and facilities it considered necessary for the discharge of its obligations.²⁶⁴

²⁶³. Nikos Kranidiotis, "Cyprus in the struggle for freedom," p. 184.

²⁶⁴. Nikos Kranidiotis, "Difficult years...", p. 321.

The Cypriot people and the Greek Government rejected the Macmillan plan as unacceptable. Turkey also rejected it in the beginning, but later cooperated with Britain for its implementation.

Governor Foot informed Archbishop Makarios about the plan, sending him the document accompanied by a letter, in which he said among other things:

*"The Greek Cypriot people shall enjoy the advantages of association with Greece, without being obliged to abandon its association with the British Commonwealth. My standard has always been the interest of the Cypriot people and on the basis of this I am personally convinced that the specially favourable and specially protected status, by virtue of this plan, will secure its future progress and prosperity."*²⁶⁵

The Archbishop gave his reply to Foot's letter after he summoned to Athens the mayors of the six towns of Cyprus and the Acting Ethnarch Anthimos of Kition. In successive meetings under the chairmanship of Archbishop Makarios with the other members of the Ethnarchy who were in Athens, it was decided to reject the British plan.

In his reply letter to Foot, dated 20 June 1958, the Archbishop said:

"Excellency,

I acknowledge receipt of your letter of 9th instant, as well as of the attached plan on the Cyprus issue, which H.M. Government has already announced. I thank Your Excellency for having informed me in advance about this plan, on which, after carefully studying it with representatives of the Cyprus people, I have to note the following:

1. The idea of 'partnership' on which the plan is based, imposing in essence a triple sovereignty on Cyprus, is absolutely unacceptable, as it opposes the basic and inalienable right of the Cypriot people to self-determination. The main provisions of the announced plan

265. Nikos Kranidiotis, "Difficult years...", pp. 318-319.

break up the unity and establish constitutionally the division of the Cypriot people, leading to unavoidable friction and confrontation and creating a source of constant unrest and threat to the peace of the whole region.

*2. In view of the above we do not consider that the announced plan is such as to be acceptable. We do not reject a transitional stage of self-government. The Cyprus problem, however, is an issue concerning on the one hand Great Britain and the Cyprus people on the other, and we are always willing to have bilateral talks between the British Government and the Cyprus people for a genuine democratic constitution of self-government."*²⁶⁶

The British Ambassador to Athens, Sir Roger Allen, disclosed the British plan to the Greek Prime Minister, Constantinos Karamanlis, on 10 June.

The Greek Government rejected the British plan. The letter that Karamanlis sent to the British Prime Minister contained among other things the following:

"Unfortunately your announcements in the House of Commons have distanced the plan still farther from the positions held by the Greek Government. Cyprus is a British colony. By international treaties Turkey has resigned from any rights and titles over it. Besides, Greece in supporting the right of the Cypriots to decide their future, has stated that it does not seek to annex Cyprus. Subsequently, those entitled to regulate its fate are primarily the people of Cyprus and Great Britain, since by the Treaty of Lausanne the obligation was expressly undertaken that the fate of the Island will be defined in the future by those 'interested,' Turkey not being one of them, since it has relinquished rights of any nature. Already through your plan, you invite Greece and Turkey to participate in the administration of the Island for a seven-year period, leaning in this way towards creating a kind of de facto joint sovereignty over it. In so do-

266. "The Complete Works of Archbishop Makarios III of Cyprus," vol. 3, p.382.

ing you are in essence unilaterally overthrowing a legal situation. Permit me to draw your attention to this point, because by your plan the Government tends to overthrow the principle of respecting existing international treaties, a principle valuable to all."²⁶⁷

Dighenis announced the following to the Cyprus people about the British plan in a leaflet:

"The Greek Cypriot people do not ask for fake constitutions. We have only ONE demand, which we shall pursue unalterable, amid whatever difficulties, adversities or dangers and with persistence and patience: SELF-DETERMINATION. For the success of this we shall fight to the end."²⁶⁸

When he learnt that the U.S.A. had approved of the plan and that the British Government would seek to impose it anyway, he distributed the following leaflet:

"NOW IT IS AN ALL OUT FIGHT

The British 'partnership' plan for the perpetuation of the slavery of the Cypriot people has already been REJECTED with indignation, but also in disgust for the means colonialism is using to remain in Cyprus.

If the British Government attempts to implement, even unilaterally, this infernal plan, our reaction shall be immediate.

As a soldier who does not go back on his word I WARN that we shall STRIKE cruelly, without mercy, because we do not expect anything worse and shall fight desperately.

We call upon the Cypriot people to be ready and to obey fully our directions. Everybody, united in the struggle without any distinction of social class or political belief, we shall share the sacrifices, but also the joy of Victory.

We have shown self-restraint until today, even when the organized murders by the ransacking Turks, at the instigation of the English and in cooperation with them, made our souls bleed with sor-

267. Nikos Kranidiotis, "Difficult years...", pp. 324-325.

268. General George Grivas-Dighenis, "Memoirs..." p. 261.

row. And this NOT OUT OF WEAKNESS to return the blows harshly; but in order to reveal unmistakably and in all its shamefulness to the eyes of the whole civilized world the Anglo-Turkish conspiracy against the Greek Cypriot people and the barbarity of those who shamelessly talk today about democratic institutions.

We have not yet replied by arms, in order to show self-restraint and to deprive our enemy of the excuse that ...we have made it difficult for them to find and announce a solution for us.

But today, after this deliberate strangulation of our liberties, the Greek soul, which never cowered even before mighty enemies and always knows how to WIN, shall show all its FORCE and DETERMINATION.

For the time being, we wish to give a chance to the British Government and to facilitate it towards BILATERAL talks, as it is stipulated in the letter of our Ethnarch to the Governor. We hope that the British Government will show understanding and that new bloodshed will be avoided.

Or else, if our voice is not heard, so much the worse for them. The door of diplomacy will be shut and the door of Ares, the god of war shall be flung open, and then it will be heard: NOW IT IS AN ALL OUT FIGHT.

E.O.KA. THE LEADER DIGHENIS."²⁶⁹

Nikos Kranidiotis, the Ethnarchy Secretary, wrote in a critical commentary to the British plan:

"It is obvious that the British Government, giving in completely to the irrational Turkish demands, was attempting with the new plan (the seeds of which are to be found in the plan announced by Macmillan in September 1955 - being Foreign Secretary then - during the Tripartite Conference in London) to impose a regime of tri-dominium on the island, based on an immediate administrative split and leading with the passage of time to territorial partition, as the

269. General George Grivas-Dighenis, "Memoirs...", p. 262.

Turks had wanted. The new plan completely lays aside the unanimous claim of the Greek Cypriot people to exercise the right of self-determination and glaringly violates both the principle of self-determination and the democratic institution of respecting the will of the majority. To boot, Turkey is again introduced as conqueror – despite the fact that by the 1923 Treaty of Lausanne it had relinquished all its rights in Cyprus – and the historical, geographical, economic and political unity of the island is threatened."^{269a}

3. THE TURKISH CYPRIOTS AGAINST THE EOKA STRUGGLE (NOVEMBER 1957 – JUNE 1958)

The Turks of Cyprus, who had condemned the EOKA activity at its beginning, cooperated with the English throughout the struggle in order to suppress it. Their action against the Greek Cypriots was intensified in 1958 under the guidance of their Organisation T.M.T.

The Turkish Cypriot Organisation T.M.T.

The Turkish Cypriot Organisation T.M.T. (Turkish Resistance Movement), which reacted to the EOKA struggle in various ways, distributed its first leaflet in November 1957. T.M.T. succeeded VOLCAN, which Rauf Denktash had reorganized in 1957, giving it its new name. T.M.T. aimed at mobilizing all the Turkish Cypriots. In its first leaflet it stated:

*"We have now given a new impetus to VOLCAN and our activity has spread all over Cyprus, aiming to include in our ranks the entire Turkish Cypriot population."*²⁷⁰

According to the testimony of the Turkish colonel Ismael Tansu, which was published in the newspaper 'Halkin Sesi' in May 1997, the Turkish Government and the military leadership of Turkey had

269a. Nikos Kranidiotis, "Cyprus in the struggle for freedom," pp. 185-186.

270. P. Papademetris – P. Petrides, "Historical Encyclopedia of Cyprus (1878-1978)," vol. 11, p. 296.

decided the founding of TMT. Tansu described the then Foreign Minister of Turkey, Fatin Rustu Zorlu as the godfather of TMT.²⁷¹

Following the above decision, officers of the Turkish army arrived in Cyprus with forged identities, appearing as diplomatic staff, bank employees and teachers.

The Turkish lieutenant colonel, Riza Vuruskan was assigned the leadership of TMT in July 1958. His deputy was Nedjet Bey. The two Turkish officers had arrived secretly in Cyprus at the Three-Mile area of Kyrenia. Specially trained Turkish reservist officers formed the TMT cadres. Vuruskan was also assisted in his work by Fazil Kucuck, Rauf Denktash, Dudar Nicancioglu (Director of the Labour Bank – Nicosia branch), Burhan Isin (Turkish Consul) and Vefa Bet-sim (TMT radio operator).

On 17 February 1979, the Turkish Cypriot Osman Orek, who together with Fazil Kucuck had received Vuruskan on his arrival, revealed the following:

"I met Vuruskan on the last Sunday of July 1958 in the Three-Mile area of the Kazafani village, Kyrenia district. I was staying at the motel of Jelal Mustapha with Dr Kucuck. He had quietly entered Cyprus the previous day with his assistant Nedjet Bey, pretending to be a bank instructor. .. Although TMT had been created in 1957, it did not have an able and experienced leader, like Grivas, the EOKA leader. .. We had no objectives. We had nothing, save the pistols, which we carried clandestinely and some light weapons, which we took from the English, risking death sentences, or some locally manufactured guns and bombs made by our suffering brothers from bicycle frames and water pipes. The ability of Ali Bey to control the situation in such a short period of time helped to build the necessary atmosphere for the strengthening of TMT on solid bases and for the peace negotiations, which are symbolized in the Zurich agreements between Greece, Turkey and England. Undoubtedly, the weapons supply was carried out immediately and in an excellent

271. Yiannis Chr. Spanos, "EOKA – This is how Greeks fight," vol.2, p. 126.

way without the others noticing anything. For this reason, the Turkish community owes a lot to Riza Vuruskan and the anonymous heroes who worked under his orders. For this reason, the 1st August 1958 was later set as the day of founding TMT."

Rauf Denktash in a statement to the Times of London on 20 January 1980 said the following:

*"I founded T.M.T. (Turkish Resistance Movement) with some friends in order to organize various people who moved here and there doing various things... Everybody thought I was the leader, but I was not. I was a political advisor. As soon as I set it up, I handed it over. The English and Turkish services thought that I was the leader who decided everything. But I wasn't. The leaders were officers from Turkey."*²⁷²

The members of TMT took an oath on their honour that they would remain loyal to TMT, that whenever the Organisation might call them, they would run without hesitation to undertake any task whatsoever and that they would be prepared to shed their blood to the last drop.

One of the early steps taken by TMT was to distribute a leaflet among the young Turkish Cypriots in May 1957, in which the following were stated:

*"The day is approaching when you shall be called to sacrifice your life and your blood to partition – the struggle for freedom... You are a brave Turk. You are loyal to your country and to your nation and they trust you with the aim of demonstrating Turkish power. Be prepared to break the chains of servitude with the determination and force of your will and also with the love for freedom. The entire Turkish Nation, right and justice and God are with you. Partition or death."*²⁷³

Governor Foot declared TMT an illegal organization on 23 July 1958. With Turkey's help the Turkish Cypriots sought the partition

272. P. Papademetris – P. Petrides, "Historical Encyclopedia of Cyprus (1878-1978)," vol. 11, pp. 296-297.

273. Ibid, vol. 11, p. 297.

of Cyprus and the creation of their own "statelet" in the northern part of the island.

In a book he published in 1957 Fazil Kucuck advocated the partition of Cyprus at the 35th parallel. A map on the cover of the book showed Cyprus partitioned along the 35th parallel. An extract from the book said:

*"Every impartial observer will verify that gone is the time when one could hope for Greek-Turkish cooperation in Cyprus. Every suggestion for finding a solution must recognize this fact (partition)."*²⁷⁴

The situation in Cyprus is exacerbated in June 1958

The Turkish Cypriots acted systematically against the Greek Cypriots. They desecrated churches, burnt icons before the eyes of the security forces, murdered and injured Greek Cypriots and committed all kinds of outrage. Such violent acts were perpetrated at midnight on 7 June 1958 in the Greek quarters of Nicosia. In other towns and in the countryside the Turkish Cypriots made their move on 8 June and on subsequent dates. On 12 June, they killed or mortally wounded 8 Greeks near the Turkish village of Gonyeli and more lightly injured others after ambushing them in collusion with the English. All the victims were inhabitants of Kontemenos village.

The titles of some of the Cypriot newspapers clearly showed the seriousness of the situation brought about by the criminal activities of the Turkish Cypriots.

"Hordes of armed Turks gave themselves over to an orgy of blood and destruction against the Greeks of Nicosia during the night. Using guns and knives they killed two Greeks and injured several others. They torched and looted Greek shops, warehouses full of timber and the building of the Olympiakos Sports Club" ('Eleftheria' 8.6. 1958).

"Island-wide sorrow and indignation against the Turkish outrage.

274. Ibid, vol. 11, p. 299.

New attacks against Greeks by Turks were carried out yesterday. Incidents also took place in other towns. A Turkish demonstration was held in Lefka during which Greek buildings were stoned and a shop owned by a Greek was burnt down." ('Philelephtheros' 10.6. 1958).

Blood-thirsty Turks butchered or critically injured Greek workers outside Gonyeli village, abandoned there by British soldiers" ('Elefhteria' 13. 6. 1958).²⁷⁵

An Australian by the name of Evat, brother to the Prime Minister of Australia, was in Cyprus when the Turkish attacks took place against the Greeks. On his arrival at Athens he later said that "the disturbances were premeditated by the Turks" and that "the army commits atrocities, cooperating with criminal elements."²⁷⁶

On 9 June the Greek Government asked for an emergency session of NATO to investigate the violent outrage of the Turks against the Greeks of Cyprus. The Greek Government also submitted a detailed report on the Cyprus situation to the President of the Security Council and to the Secretary General of the U.N. The Church of Greece denounced the Turkish atrocities to the Christian Churches all over the world.

Bishop Anthimos of Kition sent Archbishop Makarios the following telegram on 11 June:

*"The Turkish blood bath against the Greek population of the island continues undiminished. Today, eleven fires were started in Nicosia, one of which burnt to cinders the church of St. Luke. The British Authorities are unwilling to put the situation under control. The Greek Cypriot people find themselves unprotected at the mercy of an Anglo-Turkish conspiracy."*²⁷⁷

Archbishop Makarios made the following statements on 12 June:

"With feelings of strong indignation we learn that the Turkish orgies continue in Cyprus under the criminal tolerance or unwilling-

275. "The Cyprus struggle through the Cypriot press," pp. 112-114.

276. General George Grivas-Dighenis "Memoirs...", p. 259.

277. Nikos Kranidiotis, "Cyprus in the struggle for freedom," p. 179.

ness of the British Authorities to stop the Turkish vandalisms and protect the Greek population of the island, which has been left a prey to the criminal Turkish mobs, assisted by the Turkish auxiliary police recruited, as it is well known, among the scum of society.

The responsibility for the beastly vandalisms does not weigh down only on the barbaric Turkish mob. It equally, if not even more, weighs down on the British administration, under the passive or approving eyes of which it is perpetrated this orgy of blood, arson and pillage.

We strongly protest the shameful attitude of the British Government and the brutal Turkish impunity and denounce before the international public opinion those responsible for this tragic situation, which threatens to disturb the peace in our entire region."²⁷⁸

The Greek Parliament condemned the Turkish atrocities with the following resolution:

*"The Greek Parliament, having learnt of the unprovoked, cowardly and barbarous attacks unleashed with the toleration of the responsible Authorities against the Greek Cypriot people, during which unarmed Greeks were murdered or injured and Greek churches, schools and private properties were burnt and pillaged, strongly protests to the Parliaments of the Free Nations and asks for their support in order to stop the vandalisms and protect the life, honour and property of the Greek population of Cyprus."*²⁷⁹

The international public opinion also condemned the Turkish vandalisms in Cyprus. Indeed, many British newspapers blamed not only the Turkish Government but also that of Britain. On 17 January 1958, the American State Department attributed to Ankara the Turkish outrages in Cyprus.

278. "The Complete Works of Archbishop Makarios III of Cyprus," vol. 3, p. 379.

279. Nikos Kranidiotis, "Cyprus in the struggle for freedom," p. 181.

The purpose of the attacks by the Turkish Cypriots- How Dighenis confronted the situation

The attacks by the Turkish Cypriots against the Greek Cypriots and their properties aimed at the following: 1) To prove that in fact the Greeks and Turks of Cyprus could not live together and therefore the Turks were justified in demanding the partition of the island. 2) To strengthen the British policy, which rejected the right of the Cypriot people to self-determination. 3) To break the morale of the Greeks of Cyprus and destroy their resistance, so that they would be forced to accept the British plan prepared for the solution of the Cyprus problem. 4) To throw EOKA into a two-front war, against both the English and the Turks, obliging it to lay bare its forces and expose itself to decisive blows.

Dighenis decided to take the following steps according to a plan: 1) To organise the defence of the towns on a systematic basis, especially in Nicosia, in order to counter the attacks of the Turks who conspired with the English. 2) To have teams ready in the countryside with the participation of a large number of people for counter-attacking attacks against villages or individuals. 3) PEKA through EAEM would undertake the organization and mobilization of the population. 4) Plans and units that would be used for action in each case should not be exposed prematurely and without reason. 5) Guerrilla groups should avoid involvement, except in special cases.

Rallies in Turkey for the partition of Cyprus- An announcement by the Turkish Foreign Ministry

The tragic events that occurred against the Greeks of Cyprus in June 1958 were timed to take place together with organized rallies in Constantinople and other cities of Turkey at the encouragement of the Turkish Government. The Turkish Student Federation organized the Constantinople rally, during which an effigy of Archbishop Makarios was burnt. The prevailing slogans were "partition or death," "down with the Greeks," "we are not panicky, but glorious wolves."

The responsibility of the Turkish Government in organizing the

rally could be clearly seen in a Turkish Foreign Ministry announcement which said:

"Our Government has accepted the application of our compatriots, to organize a gathering in Istanbul in order to make known to world public opinion the great emotion, which moves our nation for Cyprus, as well as our decision on this issue. Of course, our views shall be expressed at the gathering with the dignity that befits Turkish propriety. Nevertheless, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has deemed necessary to bring to the knowledge of our compatriots the following:

*Our Government has taken a final decision, according to which the partition of Cyprus constitutes the only solution safeguarding the security of our country and allowing for the peaceful progress of our brothers. We are in contact with the English Government concerning the Cyprus issue. Although we do not have information up to this moment on the statement, which the English Government is about to make, in the past we were in agreement with it. We hope that our cooperation shall this time continue in the same way. We wish that our compatriots would share this hope with us. One thing is absolutely certain. The recognition of our cause in Cyprus depends above all on the national will."*²⁸⁰

4. EOKA ACTIVITY AND ENGLISH REACTION IN THE PERIOD JULY-NOVEMBER 1958

EOKA persisted in its Struggle for the liberation of Cyprus, aiming at the final victory. It was constantly renewing its forces, but the English were also unrelenting. Mass arrests took place during this period and the clashes between fighters and the security forces gave rise to breathtaking events.

The bloody incident at Avgorou-The role of women

In their drive to suppress the EOKA struggle the English did not spare women or children. On 5 July they arrested in Avgorou village

280. Nikos Kranidiotis, "Cyprus in the struggle for freedom," pp. 182-183.

and started beating Kyriakos Makri, a young boy of 15, because he refused erase a slogan. The women of the village rushed and freed him from the soldiers' hands. The incident spread and the soldiers opened fire against the civilian population. The bullets hit and mortally wounded Panyiotis Zacharia and Loukia Papageorghiou, a pregnant mother of six. Eighteen other persons were injured.

The above incident was not the only one of its kind during the Struggle. Commenting on it, Dighenis praised the Greek women of Cyprus with these words:

*"It is not the first time they faced alone the armed English soldiers, at times to free persons arrested by the army and at others to break the curfew cordon and notify the fighters or to bring them supplies."*²⁸¹

The English blow up the "Anorthosis" sports club - EOKA torches the Teaching College

EOKA fighters shot and killed two British servicemen in Famagusta on 8 July 1958, in response to what the security forces had done in Avgorou. There followed reprisals by the security forces, which on the same day blew up the building of the Famagusta sports club 'Anorthosis,' claiming they had discovered two bombs under its wooden floor.

Dighenis distributed a leaflet about this incident in which he said:

"Bullets have not scared us. The gallows have not scared us. The pillage and destruction did not break us. We are not scared by the Anglo-Turkish collaboration, against which we have returned the blows and shall go on returning them, stronger every day."

*The criminal duet of Foot-Kendrew have now discovered the method of blowing up buildings, under the pretext of finding bombs in them which cannot be removed, while in reality they are explosives planted there by the English themselves."*²⁸²

281. General Grivas Dighenis, "Memoirs...", p. 268.

282. Ibid, Appendix, p. 34.

Considering the destruction of the "Anorthosis" building to be unjustified, the leader of EOKA ordered the fighters to return the blow by blowing up the Teachers College in Nicosia, a government building. A group of 13 fighters from Aglantzia undertook to carry out the sabotage, arriving at the Teachers College on 20 July 1958 under a curfew, armed with their weapons and 19 bombs. Having cut the telephone cables, four of them infiltrated the college, put an equal number of guards out of action and gave the signal for the rest to enter the building. The team of fighters then began to open holes in the walls to plant the bombs and they also poured petrol all over the furniture. They finished the preparatory work at 10.30 a.m. and were about to place the bombs. At that point an explosion occurred, due to a faulty device Thasos Elia held in his hands. He was badly wounded, losing both his hands, while he suffered injuries on his legs, eyes, face and chest. Despite the injuries to their companion, the fighters detonated the rest of the bombs. In a short while armed soldiers arrived at the College and started firing. The fighters managed to get away, except Thasos Elia, who could not move nor be carried away by his fellow fighters. To his groaning the English responded with insults. They placed his fingers in a cigarette packet and pretended to offer them around to one another. Finally the fire brigade took him away from the scene of the incident. The damage caused to the building of the Teachers College was estimated at 15,000 pounds.

The situation in Cyprus in July 1958- Foot takes stern measures- 2,000 persons are arrested - Macmillan appeals for a cease fire-The reply of Dighenis

There was a lot of bloodshed in Cyprus during July 1958. The English and the Turks were collaborating to break the fighting spirit of EOKA. Dighenis confronted the twin enemy with restraint. He wrote:

"I could strike at both the English and the Turks, using particular tactics for each of them, as I had the necessary manpower despite being short of material. I had at my disposal the strong moral factor

of my fighters, a most potent weapon, which I had been working on persistently and to which, as I have repeatedly stressed, I owe all the victories we have won at the various battles."²⁸³

The British Government had not succeeded to prevail in Cyprus. English opposition papers were writing that the mass arrests of the Greeks of Cyprus and other emergency measures could not lead to positive results.

The Commission of Reconciliation in London called on the British Government to turn to the U.N. Security Council for a solution of the Cyprus problem, because it could not settle it alone. At the same time it expressed its concern about the British discrimination in favour of the Turks. In criticizing the failure of the British Government, some of the English newspapers suggested a change in policy.

In an appeal broadcast over the Nicosia radio on 14 July 1958, Foot called on the people to put an end to bloodshed. Dighenis answered him with a leaflet, saying that "on our side the struggle shall not cease because of the hysterical screams by the panicky little satrap, except under CONDITIONS, safeguarding amongst other the right to self-determination."²⁸⁴

EOKA pursued its activity. The security forces were reinforced on 17 July by transporting the 16th British parachute brigade from Jordan. Foot took even more severe measures. These included placing the whole island under curfew from 7 p.m. to 4.30 a.m. for one month. During this period of time about 2,000 persons were arrested on the excuse that they were EOKA sympathizers. They included school principals, teachers, doctors, lawyers, priests, local councilors and civil servants. These arrests did not the least affect the fighting capability of EOKA. The official announcement issued about the arrests said that they were carried out in order "to save the lives and property of the citizens and, what is more, to prevent civil war."

283. General George Grivas - Dighenis, "Memoirs...", p. 268.

284. General George Grivas-Dighenis, "Memoirs...", p. 269.

Foot spoke about the arrests at a press conference and said:

*"During the last 15 days information was received from a number of sources, according to which EOKA has given instructions to increase the attacks by the Greeks against the Turks. Reliable information has also been received that EOKA had decided to begin acts of sabotage on a wide scale and to carry out attacks against the Security Forces ... Consequently, I have given orders for the arrest and detention of a large number of Greeks."*²⁸⁵

While the security forces were busy arresting Greeks, the Turks set fire to Christian churches of great archaeological importance in Nicosia, St Luke's and St Jacob's. On 23 July 1958, Foot declared illegal the Turkish Cypriot organization T.M.T.

The Greek Prime Minister, Constantinos Karamanlis, appealed to the Greeks of Cyprus to help restore a peaceful situation on the island.

Following the many arrests of July, the British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan also made an appeal for the bloodshed in Cyprus to stop, in which he said:

"Humanism dictates that violence in Cyprus should cease. The murders, the injuries and the damage to property cannot but harm the interests of all the communities of the island. I am sure that the common citizen of the Island strongly desires peace and security. For this reason I am making this appeal to all concerned, both inside and outside of the island, to abstain from any action which could contribute to the prolongation of violence. I am certain that this my appeal shall have the full support of the Prime Ministers of Greece and Turkey, as well as of the people of good will all over the World."

The answer of Dighenis to Macmillan's appeal was the following:

"OUR ANSWER

The British Prime Minister has made an appeal for an end to bloodshed.

285. Ibid, p. 270.

However, we are not the ones who are attacking, but the ones who are defending ourselves. It is not we who have not shown good will, but the English Government. We have repeatedly given it opportunities for a peaceful settlement of the Cyprus problem and in response we received bullets in cold blood and suffered unspeakable violence, terrorism and destructions. And when it saw that by these means it had not succeeded in breaking our will for freedom, it incited the Turkish mob against us, while its representative in Cyprus watched passively and malevolently the flames, the desolation, the sacrilege and the slaughter perpetrated by the vandal Turks in full collaboration with its organs and the Turkish Police itself.

Therefore, it is not up to us but up to our enemies, English and Turks, to show goodwill for an end to the bloodshed, and then let them rest assured that they shall find immediate response on our part. Otherwise, as long as they continue the murders, the inhuman mass arrests, as long as the intimidation and the oppression of the Greek population continue, **WE SHALL DEFEND OURSELVES TO THE END WHILE EVEN ONE GREEK REMAINS ALIVE IN CYPRUS.**

Therefore, instead of vague speeches and suspicious appeals, it would be preferable for the English Prime Minister to order the English troops and their Turkish collaborators: **CEASE FIRE.**

*E.O.K.A. THE LEADER DIGHENIS.*²⁸⁶

The death of three fighters from Lysi

On the night of 23 August 1958, around 8 p.m., four EOKA members from Lysi village loaded guns, grenades, mines and ammunition on two bicycles to transport them from a small warehouse in the village to the garden of Demetrakis Anastasi. The team was composed of Michael Kailis (Sialos), Panayis Larkou, Demetrakis Anastasi and Kallis Sakkas. As soon as they had left the village they fell in an ambush by English soldiers hidden behind some trees. Sialos shot and wounded an English soldier. Immediately afterwards he hurled one

of the grenades he was carrying, killing five soldiers. He had a second grenade in his hand but he received a burst of fire from a second group of soldiers and fell dead.

The English soldiers then shot and killed Demetrakis Anastasi and Kallis Sakkas. Panayis Larkou managed to escape in a hail of bullets. This incident led Dighenis to interrupt the truce EOKA had declared since 4 August.

The death of section commander Michalakis Parides (1933-1958)

Michalakis Parides was born in Anafotida village in the district of Larnaca. After graduating from the Larnaca Lyceum he worked at the Bank of Cyprus. He had been a member of OHEN and of PEON. He was among the first to join EOKA. He became group leader and took action on 1 April 1955, interacting with another group. The members of the two groups threw bombs inside the Larnaca courtroom. Michalakis Parides was arrested along with four of his companions. He was charged with violent attempt to overthrow the regime and was sentenced to seven years imprisonment. He escaped on 12 December 1957 from the third floor of the Nicosia Hospital where he underwent an operation. A nurse had provided him with gloves and a rope.

Dighenis assigned to him the section of the Larnaca villages. His work produced very good results in regrouping the EOKA guerrillas. In August 1958 he had his headquarters at the village of Vavla. Following a treachery, English troops surrounded the house where he was staying on 27 August and called on him to surrender. His reply was: "*Freedom fighters do not surrender. They win or die,*" and immediately afterwards he opened fire. The English returned the shots and hit him on the chest. The hero fell dead down the stairs of the house and only managed to whisper: "*long live freedom.*"

Michalakis Parides was a firm believer in Greek Christian ideals to which he sacrificed his life. A letter he wrote on 15 December 1956 while in prison revealed his inner world. An extract from it is quoted below. He wrote to his family:

²⁸⁶. General George Grivas-Dighenis, "Memoirs...", p. 272.

"I regret that this year, as in the last one, I am not with you to celebrate as we used to do the days of the birth of the Saviour Christ. Nevertheless, my sorrow is diminished by the joy I feel for having followed the voice of my conscience, and when the time came for me to take the big decision I did not betray myself.

*And besides, I have the immense joy of seeing all around me our entire people endure ungrudgingly, with unshakable faith in victory, so many inhuman ordeals, so many hardships, such brutal oppression, ridiculing the imperial armies, defying imprisonment and banishment, marching to the gallows while chanting patriotic songs."*²⁸⁷

Dighenis wrote about the hero:

"A brilliant, honourable and courageous young man, he fulfilled his mission in an exemplary fashion."^{287a}

The momentous battle of EOKA at the Liopetri barn

On 2 September 1958, four EOKA members put up a momentous fight at Liopetri village. The events unfolded as follows:

On the night of 30 August, four EOKA fighters – Andreas Karyos, Fotis Pittas, Elias Papakyriakou and Christos Tsiartas – went to Liopetri to instruct other members in how to lay an ambush and what the mode of attack was. At about 2 p.m. on 1 September, several army trucks loaded with soldiers appeared in the vicinity of the village. A first attempt by the fighters to leave the village was aborted, as they found soldiers blocking their escape route. They tried again, this time in a car. One of them went ahead of the others and managed to pass an English sentry, only to be stopped by another. The fighters opened fire and the soldier fell. The English then started firing from all directions, forcing the fighters to retreat to the village, where they hid in the barn of Panayiotis Kallis. A curfew was immediately imposed and all the inhabitants were rounded up behind

287. Spyros Papageorgiou, "The Cyprus Tempest 1955-1959," p. 130.

287a. General George Grivas – Dighenis., "Memoirs...", 296-297.

barbed wire for interrogation until 3 p.m. That day the army searched all the houses and the barn, but without result. At 1 a.m. on the following day the soldiers returned to Panayiotis Kallis' house and demanded from him to tell them where the four fighters were hiding, telling him they had received information from Elias Samaras, brother to one of the wanted men. Elias had broken under terrible torture and gave the information, although he too was an EOKA member who had seen a lot of action. Despite being tortured as well, the owner of the barn said nothing about the hiding place. The soldiers, however, knew already and they surrounded the barn calling on the fighters to surrender. They remained silent. Using Kallis as a shield, one of the soldiers approached the barn and fired shots inside. Again the fighters did not respond.

On the morning of 2 September the villagers were again placed under curfew and the owner of the barn suffered more torture. Finally, at 8 a.m. a battle broke out between the English troops and the four fighters. An English captain by the name of Taylor described it at the inquest that followed:

"On 2 September I went with a platoon of soldiers to a house in Liopetri to conduct investigations at a certain house. When the soldiers came near the barn, shots were fired against them from inside. The soldiers then surrounded the house and called for reinforcements, which arrived after a while. The shots from the barn went on for quiet some time. One of the soldiers, who knew Greek well, called out repeatedly and loudly to those firing from the barn to surrender. For a moment the shots stopped, only to be resumed after a while more intensely. Several soldiers were wounded.

After this I ordered three kinds of grenades to be thrown against the barn, as well as 11 bombs of the 'rocket' type, but the results were fruitless. One of the men that were inside the barn ran outside and started shooting. A soldier shot and killed him. Following an order, the soldiers, 14 of them, rushed to take over the barn and six of them managed to get inside the house through low trees. While the soldiers were on the verandah, several shots were fired at them and one soldier and a captain were injured. When one of the soldiers

tried to carry his wounded colleagues into a room, one person from the barn shot at him, but the soldier returned the fire, killing him.

The other soldiers opened a hole at the rear side of the house and through it they managed to get onto the roof, in which they opened another hole. Through this one they poured petrol and set fire to the barn. After this two of the men that were inside the barn stormed outside, but the soldiers shot and killed them. During the search inside the barn two bombs were found, and also a radio, foodstuffs and guns."²⁸⁸

The Cypriot and foreign press praised the bravery of the fighters at Liopetri. A British captain admitted they were all "impressed by the fight EOKA put up at Liopetri."

Dighenis noted the following on the heroic sacrifice of the four fighters:

*"It is very difficult for me to distinguish the bravest of the brave among those four courageous young men, for at that moment they all vied who would die more gallantly. They were united together in arms, but also with the bond of friendship even before the EOKA struggle, and these were elements that helped to forge a comradeship between them. I am moved by their heroic death, in the circumstances this has occurred, but as their leader I am also proud to inscribe it in the pages of the heroic EOKA, because it showed of what stuff the Organisation is made... the so-called "terrorists."!! and the high ideals which inspired its fighters. Despite the sorrow we Greeks have felt deep in our souls, their death has filled us with national pride, because with fighters like these we would certainly win our struggle."*²⁸⁹

Regarding English losses, Dighenis wrote the following to the Greek Consul in Nicosia, A. Frydas, on 10 September:

"English casualties at Liopetri must be very high. A Greek policeman said he saw 7 dead and several wounded. The brigadier

288. General George Grivas-Dighenis, "Memoirs...", pp. 298-299.

289. General George Grivas-Dighenis, "Memoirs...", p. 297.

*cried openly when he faced the battle scene, while the Varosha Police Superintendent on his arrival on the spot fired shots into the dead bodies out of rage."*²⁹⁰

Andreas Karyos (1926-1958) was born in Avgorou village, Famagusta district. He was a high-ranking member of PEK, SEK and PEON and of the religious association in his village. He was initiated to the liberation struggle during the preparatory stages and enrolled many members in the Organisation. He was the organizer and first EOKA responsible in Avgorou. On 1st April 1955 he took part with his team in the operation to cut the electricity cables near his village and cause a black-out for the other EOKA groups to go into action. In this operation Modestos Panteli had died of an electric shock and Karyos himself suffered severe burns because he was holding him on his back. He had been very active as a fighter. He was placed on the wanted list after his team attacked the Achna police station and was arrested in Ormidia in November 1956. He was held in the Pyla detention camp from where he escaped on 12 March with three other of his companions. He then took over as sub-section commander in the Kokkinochoria area and worked effectively until his heroic death.

Fotis Pittas (1935-1958) was a teacher and contributed significantly to the EOKA struggle in combat, but also in the fields of organization and propaganda. He was on the wanted list from 18 October 1956 until 10 January 1957, when he was arrested and subjected to horrible tortures, as has already been mentioned on pp. 137-138. He went through the life of the detention camps at Kokkinotrimithia and later at Pyla, from where he escaped on 12 March 1958 together with Andreas Karyos, Christakis Tryfonides and Frixos Demetriades. His continued his contribution to the liberation struggle until the day he sacrificed himself for the freedom of his country.

Elias Papakyriakou (1938-1958) was born in the village of

290. Spyros Papageorgiou, "The Cyprus Tempest 1955-1959," p. 620.

Lithrangomi, Famagusta district. He attended the Greek Gymnasium of Famagusta. He joined EOKA while still a fifth-former and took part in bomb attacks. He had been wanted by the security forces before he finished school. In March 1957 he was assigned the sub-section of Assia and some other villages. The seizure of automatic weapons from the French contingent that had come to Cyprus for the Suez campaign was among his daring enterprises. In the summer of 1958 he checked the Turkish attacks against Greek properties in some villages by organizing militias and counterattacks. Under his guidance EOKA fighters blew up the water pump, the sheds and the water reservoirs used for the water supply of the English soldiers encamped at the Vatyli police station. In a shift from Mousoulita to Marathovounos, Elias and a companion ran into an English patrol and exchanged fire. Elias was wounded on the leg, but he managed to escape and continued his activity until the battle of Liopetri, at which he fell fighting bravely.

Christos Samaras (1925-1958) was born in Liopetri, Famagusta district. After elementary school he complemented his education by reading books mainly on religion and Greek history. He was the founder of OHEN in his village and engaged in religious work in the surrounding communities. He became an EOKA member in 1954 and in February 1955 he initiated many members to the impending Struggle. The first EOKA members of Liopetri took the oath in his house in early March, to be trained later by Gregoris Afxentiou. He took part in the 1st April attack against the Dhekelia Base under the command of Gregoris Afxentiou. Like Gregoris, he was placed on the wanted list the same day until the 2nd of September 1958 when he fell fighting heroically against the English.

After the battle at the Liopetri barn, Elias Samaras and his family were taken to London for safety reasons, but his disturbed conscience would not let him rest. He returned to Cyprus and wrote to his section commander that he was ready to suffer punishment for what he had done. In order to set an example, Dighenis ordered his execution, which was carried out after Elias went into confession and received the last rites.



*The portraits of the four heroes of Liopetri set against the barn.
From left to right, Christos Samaras, Andreas Karyos,
Fotis Pittas and Elias Papakyriakou.*

EOKA reprisals for the English excesses against the Greeks of Cyprus

On 5 September 1958, Dighenis distributed the following leaflet in which he said that EOKA would carry out reprisals for the behaviour and the methods used by the English against the Greeks of Cyprus:

"ON THE LEVEL

In our desire to allow the politicians to push the Cyprus problem towards finding a just and democratic solution, we declared a truce on 4 August of this year, under the condition that this should meet with a response from our adversaries. Nevertheless, from the first day we found ourselves before successive curfews, arrests of citizens, torturing of prisoners to death and other repressive measures.

We at least expected that after the rejection of the monstrous

British plan by Hellenism as a whole, the British Government would have faced the problem with more realism and in a democratic way. It has sought instead through intimidation to prepare, as it thinks, the ground for the forceful imposition of its Plan. To this purpose, the inhuman and undemocratic measures against the Greek Cypriot people and the continuous provocations against us have been intensified, resulting in the murder of 8 Greeks.

This has forced me, as I had warned, to use reprisals and take defensive steps.

If this is how English colonialism understands the safeguarding of calm in the Island, which is by us remaining inactive while they are licensed to murder and torture, we DECLARE that such unilateral truce on our part is UNACCEPTABLE.

I warn the conservative Government that its praetorians cannot murder, intimidate, destroy and torture with impunity. I HAVE ORDERED reprisals to be carried out immediately for any Greek murdered or injured by the English, and also to take any defensive measure against the excesses of your praetorians.

This is the slogan of EOKA: To defend itself, regardless of the number of aggressors, and let its men fall to the last, taking as many praetorians of colonialism with them as possible. And many shall be the casualties of the colonialists, although they conceal them, if one considers that at Lysi the three brave young men of EOKA that fell were only armed with a pistol and grenades and yet they killed 5 and wounded one of the fully armed soldiers of the English patrols, and that at Liopetri a Pantheon of the EOKA epic has again been erected.

We offered calm. The enemy mistook our offer as a weakness and they provoke us.

From now on they shall feel our might every time they murder and abuse. WE ARE ON THE LEVEL.

E.O.K.A. THE LEADER DIGHENIS.²⁹¹

291. General George Grivas Dighenis, "Memoirs...", p. 301.

Acts of sabotage were carried out against NAAFI in Varosha on 7 September and NAAFI in the military village of Berengaria on the following day. Also on 8 September a bomb exploded in Akrotiri Airbase, causing serious damage to the mobile electricity generator.

As the English were continuing their vandalisms and military operations, Dighenis told the section commanders they were free to carry out reprisals on their own initiative and that the unilateral truce of EOKA was over.

The EOKA members were active in various ways during September 1958. Two characteristic events are cited below:

a) A bomb went off on the deck of the steamboat "Sicilian" while it was anchored in Famagusta port. The explosion caused material damage.

b) A huge mine exploded in the avenue to Government House on 26 September, only seconds after the bulletproof car in which Major-General Kendrew, Head of British Forces in Cyprus and Director of Operations against EOKA, had driven by. This was one of EOKA's most daring exploits and it made a big impression in Cyprus and abroad.

EOKA reacts to the application of the British plan

The English disregarded the positions of the Greek Government, of Archbishop Makarios and EOKA, which opposed the application of the British plan for Cyprus. It was due to come into effect on 1st October 1958.

On instructions by EOKA the Greeks of Cyprus went on a general strike on 1st October 1958, in a show of protest for the appointment of the Turkish Consul, Burhan Isin, as Turkey's representative in Cyprus under the provisions of the British plan.

Dighenis issued two separate orders on 25 September, instructing the guerrilla units and the section commands to initiate strong action on 1 October, the day when the British plan was to be implemented. He wrote about this decision:

"The following were specified for the sections: The targets will be live or material, pre-selected and studied for attack, as well as others that might arise exceptionally.

Action must be intense. No move against the Turks, as long as they do not provoke. The order specified that in case of a curfew, attempts should be made to strike while it was on. The action started in the evening between 30 September and 1 October, according to the general plan. At first the action unfolded in the towns and by the ambush teams in the countryside and as from 7 October the order was given for the guerrilla units to strike as well.

Our activity came as a new surprise to the English because of the heavy casualties they sustained, its intensity and long duration and the novel methods used. It went on until the end of December, whilst the English termed October as "Black October."^{291a}

Fierce demonstrations and clashes with the security forces took place in some of the towns on 1st and 2nd of October. In Famagusta the English shot and seriously wounded Andreas Panayiotou Vrakas on 1 October. Very serious incidents occurred in Famagusta on 3 October, following the killing of the English woman Margaret Cutcliffe. The security forces acted with unprecedented savagery and committed brutalities against the Greek population in the town. They killed a twelve-year girl, Ioanna Zachariadou, 35-year old Panayiotis Christodoulou and the seventeen-year old pupil Loukas Andreou. Other persons were injured or mauled by military hounds.

EOKA pursued its intensive activity by shootings, bombs and ambushes both in the towns and the countryside. There were dead and wounded among the English, who reacted by savage manhunts, arrests, beatings and imprisonment of Greek Cypriots. In parallel to these, the Turkish Cypriots belonging to TMT carried out acts of terrorism against the Greek population.

Two characteristic incidents from the action of EOKA saboteurs in October 1958 are cited below:

A bomb explosion at Akrotiri airport on 20 October destroyed a 'Canberra' type plane. The incident showed that EOKA members were prepared to undertake really daring missions. What is note-

^{291a}. General George Grivas – Dighenis, "Memoirs...", p. 313.

worthy in this case is that after an unexploded time bomb was found on 29 August, the English had banned workers from entering the airport area. In spite of this, a young fighter managed to escape the attention of three guards, pass eight rows of barbed wire and plant the explosive device in the bomber jet. In his attempt all of his clothes were torn to shreds, but he had had the foresight to leave new clothing with a companion, which he put on after he had finished. Impeccably dressed, he reached Limassol from Akrotiri without arousing the suspicion of the soldiers who repeatedly stopped him for inspection. The saboteur was Elias Prodromou.

The second incident occurred at Yialousa. Andreas Modestou Hadjisolomis, a sixteen-year old Gymnasium student, succeeded in carrying out a most daring enterprise. The teenage fighter at 3 a.m. on 23 October carried two mines inside the sewer of the Yialousa police station without being detected. The sewer was 40 metres long, two feet wide and 11/2 feet high. He used a specially modified baby pram to transport the mines. Because of the narrow space inside the sewer, he placed the pram on his chest and dragged himself along on his back. When he had covered half the distance he encountered a small pipe running across the tunnel and had to carry the mines one at a time. When one of the mines developed a fault, he took it back for repair. It took him 6 1/2 hours to reach the other end of the sewer. On the next day he re-entered the sewer with the mine that had been fixed. At 2.30 p.m. on October 25 two military trucks appeared carrying soldiers for the guard replacement of the station. Two members of the sabotage team then gave the signal for the automatic detonation of the mines and immediately afterwards the deafening sound of the explosion shook the area. The two vehicles were destroyed, a soldier lost his life and 18 others were injured. Although some of the village inhabitants had seen the perpetrator and the secret soon spread to a wide circle of the community, nobody said a word. This was one of the many examples of how the people stood in solidarity to the EOKA struggle. The military officer heading the investigations that ensued without any result, stated: "Here they are all EOKA and they are very dangerous."

The death of the fighter Georgios Karyos – The arrest of section-commander Ioannis Kassinis – The English sentence him to death under another name

The section commander of the Morphou area, Ioannis Kassinis, was in Astromeritis village on 18 and 19 October with his companions Pavlos Panayiotou, Demetrios Koutalianos and Georgios Karyos, brother to Andreas Karyos who had been killed at the battle in Liopetri. At 3 a.m. on the 19th of October 3,500 English troops surrounded the village. Any attempt to break the cordon would have been impossible. In an effort to find shelter in a certain house, Georgios Karyos clashed with soldiers using his revolver, was wounded and ended up in the Nicosia General Hospital.

Georgios Karyos (1930-1958) was born in Avgorou village of Famagusta district. He had a disability in one leg due to a problem with his kneecap. He worked in farming as an engine driver. He was one of the first members of EOKA and took part in the struggle since the beginning. He offered his services assisting in ambushes as a guard and signaler, transporting the fighters to the place of attack and concealing weapons. He was arrested on 1st April 1955 and remained in detention for 15 days. He was arrested a second time on 4 April 1957, suffered torture and was sent to the detention camps. After his brother's death at the battle of the Liopetri barn, he escaped from the Kokkinotrimithia camp by crawling 150 metres through a 20-inch pipe that reached outside near the main gate and walked away pretending to be one of the workers. His mother visited him in the Nicosia hospital where he lay wounded after the clash in Kokkinotrimithia and when she asked him if he wanted anything, he answered: *"I want to take Holy Communion and say confession."* After his wish was fulfilled, he said to his mother: *"Say a prayer, mother. First for Cyprus and then for me."* He died in hospital on 28 October 1958.²⁹²

²⁹². "The martyred heroes of EOKA," p. 47, Nikolaos P. Vassiliades, "The martyred heroes of the Cyprus epic," p. 187.

The three fighters that were with Georgios Karyos became arrested after hiding in a house. Pavlos Panayiotou and Demetrios Koutalianos were caught before Kassinis was and were being beaten up to reveal his hiding place. They said nothing. Finally, Kassinis was also arrested, whom a Turkish torturer by the name of Enis, mistook for Andreas Angelides, another wanted member of EOKA. The English then started to beat Kassinis and promised to give him 5,000 if he told them where Kassinis was! His two fellow fighters and Kyriakos Voskos, the squad leader of Astromeritis, also arrested, could not understand why they were being tortured about Kassinis, since he too had been arrested and kept in a separate room. Later they were all transported to Lefka and put in the same room. There Kassinis explained the situation to his companions and was very anxious as to what would happen if they discovered his true identity. At some point his interrogator had told him: *"If I get my hands on Kassinis, I shall cut him up piece by piece."* Finally, on 23 October, Kassinis was taken with Pavlos Panayiotou and Demetrios Koutalianos to the Nicosia central prison. Their case came before the court, which on 19 December 1958 sentenced them to death. Their sentence was commuted to life imprisonment on 30 December. Kassinis had been sentenced as Andreas Angelides.

The English continued to look for Kassinis after his arrest, as they had no way of knowing that they had been fooled. The whole affair was cleared up when the real Andreas Angelides got caught on 19 January 1959 in Kato Zodia and showed his identity card. Two fellow fighters were arrested with him. The Greek newspapers wrote on 1 February 1959 that it was the first time in the annals of the British courts that a person had been sentenced under a fake name.

EOKA ambushes a military vehicle at Kyperounda – Two other cars rush to the rescue – The death of the fighter Panayiotis Toumazou.

On 22 October 1958, EOKA ambushed a military vehicle on the Kyperounda-Agros road, killing three soldiers. Reinforcements were then rushed to the scene in two big military trucks. A three-mem-

ber EOKA team was lying in wait on the Kakopetria-Karvounas road. The time was 7.15 p.m. Two of the members of the guerrilla team opened fire with their automatic weapons, forcing the first car to stop. Screams of agony could be heard. Panayiotis Toumazou was assigned to press the mine switch, but the device did not function. The fighter then got up to hurl a grenade, but he was hit on the head by a bullet and died instantly.

Panayiotis Toumazou (1939 – 1958) was born in Famagusta. He became an EOKA member in 1955, while still a pupil at the Greek Gymnasium of Famagusta. He began his activity writing slogans on the walls and distributing leaflets. He later joined the strike squads and the ambush teams. The security forces placed him on the wanted list in July 1958 and he fled to a guerrilla group of the Solea section. Before arriving at the place of the ambush on 22 October 1958, he had put an olive branch in his pocket and told his companions: *"If I should fall, the English would find it and know that we are fighting for peace."* Such words were indeed proof of an idealist fighter, who loved the freedom of his country.

Also a letter by Theophilos Toumazou, the father of Panayiotis, gave an insight to the feelings of the Cypriot people, who placed the freedom of Cyprus above paternal and maternal feelings. The father wrote the following to his wanted son:

*"Our advice is: Have courage, be intrepid, be brave, seek the love of your friends and among the company you keep, and finally and foremost, do not betray your sacred arms. Prefer the cruellest death instead. We bless you to be strong. The relatives, the friends and all the members of your family are well and send you greetings, and also wish you good success."*²⁹³

Dighenis reorganizes the EOKA forces in the autumn of 1958 to face the English and the Turks

While the army pressed on all over the island with its operations

293. General George Grivas – Dighenis, "Memoirs...", p.313, George Grivas-Dighenis, "Chronicle...", p.590.

against EOKA and an evening curfew had been imposed on young people under 27 in the towns, Dighenis moved to reorganize the EOKA forces and prepared plans to face attacks by the English and the Turks. Those in charge of manufacturing incendiary explosives, time bombs, pressure mines, grenades and ammunition kept up the supply of EOKA in large quantities. They even manufactured some automatic weapons and ammunition to go with them.

In the autumn of 1958, EOKA was very powerful in manpower and supplies. The activity of the fighters caused large casualties to the enemy. The guerrilla groups were reorganized to become more flexible and could carry out surprise attacks. In the towns many young men joined the ranks of EOKA and they were ready for attack and defence against the English, but also to confront the attacks by the Turks. Dighenis noted:

"Youth has always been the forerunner and formed both the strike squads and their reserves. Nothing could hold back the young people in their enthusiasm to join the Organisation. The groups in the towns had been perfectly organized and were equipped with supplies, in order to beat back any new attacks both by the Turks and the English."^{293a}

At the same time Dighenis gave out orders to organize the population, especially in the countryside, against the violence and cowardly attacks by the English troops.

The results were amazing. The EOKA leader wrote about this period:

"The morale of both the people and the combatants was at its highest. They were all steeled by their love for freedom, the hard and bloodied fighting, by our successes and by the repeated failure of the English to wear us down despite the huge means at their disposal. The vandalisms, the brutalities and the destruction by the English, far from breaking our morale, intensified our hatred against anything English and gave us strength for new and difficult endeavours. Rarely has history seen such a small people perform such a

293a. General George Grivas-Dighenis, "Memoirs...", p. 318.

great deed, with its morale continuously on the rise, while its ordeal was prolonged by the increasing pressure from the enemy."²⁹⁴

EOKA uses more effective measures against the English – The security forces resort to the use of human-shields, but the reaction of EOKA forces them to abandon this method

In the autumn of 1958, EOKA introduced three new elements against the English: a) The use of pressure mines, operating either automatically or by detonation. b) The use of a small switch-operated cannon became more widespread. c) The English attacks against the population met with organized resistance, especially in the countryside.

The security forces sustained successive blows, mainly from the laying of mines in the areas they used. The result of this tactic was a decline in English morale. Out of the 300 English policemen that were sent to Cyprus, about 150 asked to go back to England. The army did not know how to react at first. Then they started taking hostages and using them as human shields, a method banned internationally. They arrested villagers and forced them onto the military vehicles with the soldiers, so that they would risk their lives too. They also used detained persons or primary school children and peasants on tractors, which were made to precede British military vehicles.

EOKA reacted to these tactics in two ways:

a) By the organized mass reaction of the villagers, especially the women, who attacked the troops with sticks.

b) By sending protest resolutions and letters to the British Government and to international Organisations.

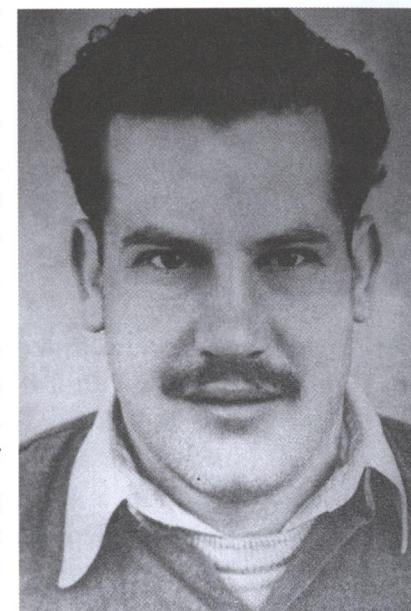
The above measures proved effective. A military order came to the hands of EOKA in December 1958, which read:

294. General George Grivas-Dighenis, "Memoirs...", pp. 318-319.

*"Stop using Greeks as hostages, for we have become a laughing stock; I shall punish severely anyone breaking my order."*²⁹⁵

The heroic death of Kyriakos Matsis

On 3 November 1958, the security forces began large-scale searches in the Kyrenia district to flush out EOKA men. The army blockade comprised the villages of Ayios Georgios, Karavas, Lapithos, Karmi, Ayios Ermolaos, Larnacas Lapithou, Dikomo. It was lifted on 8 December. In this operation the section commander of the Kyrenia region, Kyriakos Matsis, became encircled. He managed to break the army cordon at the Ayios Georgios area, passed through Kyrenia and Bellapais (Bellapaix) and ended up in Dikomo village. He stayed in the house of Kyriakos Diacos, where there was a hideout. At 9.30 a.m. on the 19th of November 1958, the soldiers searched the house where Matsis and his companions, Andreas Sofiopoulos and Costas Christodoulou, were hiding. All three of them remained still and quiet during the search. The soldiers left without achieving anything. At 12.30 p.m. they returned for a new search.



Kyriakos Matsis

Again they left empty handed. It seemed that treason was involved, for a third visit by the soldiers followed 15 minutes later. The soldiers went straight to the cover of the hideout and started to smash it. One of them shouted to Matsis in Greek: "*Hei Matsis, surrender.*" The three fighters loaded their weapons and burnt any EOKA documents they had with them. The hideout was filled with smoke. The soldiers called on Matsis to sur-

295. Ibid, pp. 320.

render, telling him that if he refused they would use petrol to burn him. A dialogue ensued between the English and Matsis, who finally ordered his companions out.

They obeyed and then Matsis shouted at the English:

"I shall not come out alive. I shall come out firing." The English then dropped grenades into the hideout, killing the fearless fighter instantly.

Kyriakos Matsis (1926-1958) was born in the village of Palaechori, Nicosia district. He was a graduate of the Greek Gymnasium of Famagusta, and of the Agricultural School of Thessaloniki University. As a student he often spoke about the Cyprus problem to undergraduate gatherings. His national activity included visits and speeches to cities, villages and military units of Macedonia, Greece. He joined EOKA very early on and contributed valuable services to the liberation struggle. He served as section commander in part of Famagusta district, head of EOKA contacts and section commander of the Kyrenia region. He was arrested on 9 January 1956 and tortured savagely at the Omorphita interrogation centre. He was then sent to the Kokkinotrimithia detention camp. There he stood out for his fighting spirit and cultural activity. He also dedicated his time to illuminating the English guards about the Cyprus problem, who one day set fire to the camp and were replaced by others. Furthermore, he put into operation a network for the escape of prisoners. He himself escaped on 13 September 1956 with six of his companions. He continued to contribute to the struggle until 19 November, when he became a holocaust for the freedom of Cyprus.

Kyriakos Matsis was an intellectual, strongly aware of his participation in the Struggle. He was distinguished for his gifted nature and energy, his literary creativity and philosophical thought. Dighenis wrote about him:

"A dutiful soldier, pure and honest, setting example to others, inspiring, he joined the struggle with a spirit of sacrifice and thirsty to carry out a great deed... The English knew that Matsis was an important member of the Organisation and that he had contact with Dighenis. Because of this he suffered many tortures but he did not



The hideout of Kyriakos Matsis at Dikomo.

break. Marshal Harding visited him in the detention camp and offered him half a million pounds and every kind of protection, if he would reveal where Dighenis was hiding. Matsis then replied: 'Excellency, we are not fighting for money here, but for virtue.' When he was appointed section commander of Kyrenia, he delivered what I expected of him. His loss has caused utmost grief to me, not only because I lost a brilliant associate, but also because Cyprus has lost a brave son, who would have been most useful in peace time."

Dighenis paid tribute to Kyriakos Matsis in a special leaflet under the title "Long live our heroes." In it he praised the hero and stressed:

"He shows to every Cypriot (man, woman, child) the way of honour and duty they must follow, in order for our struggle finally to prevail.

He trumpets throughout the civilized world the ideals, the sacri-

fices, the moral virtues that adorn the fighters of Cypriot Liberty.

The voids created by those who leave us forever are instantly filled by our reserves, which are impatiently waiting for their turn to enter the fight with the noble ambition of proving better than their predecessors.

Such a brave generation of heroic dead and titan fighters, never dies, but always WINS."²⁹⁶

Dighenis distributes a leaflet on 22 November 1958 for the curtailment of EOKA activity

The Cyprus problem was due to be debated in the Political Committee of the United Nations on 25 November 1958. Dighenis saw fit to modify the activity of EOKA during the debate and he put out a leaflet on 22 November, in which he said that EOKA was to confine itself to actions neutralizing the effect of the moves by the English and only return their fire. He also stated that with these tactics EOKA was contributing to the creation of a calm atmosphere. However, he warned at the same time that if no solution were given to the Cyprus problem, EOKA would continue its liberation campaign more effectively.

Foot in the same evening summoned his political and military advisers and cancelled by radio the curfew, which had been ordered for Larnaca over the weekend of 22-23 November. The army, nevertheless, did not suspend its operations against EOKA.

Foot stated approvingly: "Army operations shall continue, since they are necessary for the suppression...of violence, as will any other activity towards this aim."²⁹⁷

Savvas Rotsides, the last dead of the EOKA Struggle

Savvas Rotsides (1935-1958) was born in the village of Mammari in Nicosia district. He became an EOKA member from the beginning of the struggle and joined the guerrilla band of the Pitsilia re-

gion. He was then working as a store-man at the Mitsero mine. He took part in successful EOKA operations against the mine, during which large quantities of explosives were obtained for the Organization. He was arrested in October 1956 and suffered much ill treatment by the English, because they had found two revolvers in his possession. He led his interrogators to a mountainous area of Ayios Epiphantos village, deceiving them that he would reveal the retreat of his companions. From there he managed to escape. He remained in hiding for some months at some of the villages and later rejoined the guerrilla groups of Pitsilia. He took part in several attacks against the English. On 25 November 1958 he was in a hideout in the area of Agros village with his fellow guerrilla Rogiros Shipillis. They fell into an English ambush when they went to fetch water from the spring for their needs. Savvas Rotsides was killed, while his companion escaped seriously wounded. S. Rotsides was the last of the EOKA struggle to die.

5. POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS DURING THE PERIOD JULY - NOVEMBER 1958

Dighenis declares an EOKA truce in August 1958 - The English become active for a solution to the Cyprus problem based on the Macmillan plan - The Cypriot people reject it.

In a show of goodwill, Dighenis took the first step towards ending the bloodshed. In a leaflet he put out on 4 August he said:

"By a leaflet under the title 'OUR ANSWER' I announced to Mr. Macmillan that the Cyprus people accepts his appeals...by this I inform the International Public Opinion of my moves at the present moment.

I have ordered every action against the English and the Turks to stop. But I state that, if the provocations by the English and the Turks continue in any way, I shall be free to order immediate resumption of hostilities against both of them as from the 10th instant."²⁹⁸

296. General George Grivas-Dighenis, "Memoirs...", pp. 326-327.

297. General George Grivas-Dighenis "Memoirs...", p. 331.

298. Ibid, p. 272.

The peace-loving Cyprus people gladly welcomed Dighenis proclamation for a cease-fire by EOKA. Archbishop Makarios then called on the English and the Turks to respond positively to Dighenis' offer. In a statement he noted: *"It would be a tragic mistake, if the offer of a truce by EOKA were seen as a show of weakness."*

Simultaneously with the proclamation by Dighenis, the Archbishop conveyed a message to the Greek Cypriot people, in which he said among other things:

"We know that you bear these hardships with pride, courage and endurance. We know that there is no power on earth can tarnish the precious metal of your souls and to tame your unbending will for freedom. Our struggle is one of justice and morality – one of the noblest that a people may embark upon – in accordance not only with natural justice, but also with international principles and the basic aims of our civilization. In fighting for our freedom, we fight for justice and moral principles to prevail, which provide the content of international declarations, the foundations of international organizations and the greatest pride of our civilization."

*We ask for nothing more than for what belongs to us and for that which international laws entitle us to. We are only fighting for the safeguarding of the fundamental and inalienable rights of our people, of rights and freedoms, without which life is worthless and devoid of meaning."*²⁹⁹

On 5 August 1958, the Archbishop replied to a question put to him by the correspondent of the periodical 'Times of Cyprus,' in respect of a statement by Governor Foot, calling on Greece and Turkey to agree to work together for a solution to the Cyprus problem. In his answer he also said the following:

"The interference by the Governments of Greece and Turkey while their diametrically opposed aims on the issue are so competitive, is highly unlikely to lead to cooperation, but on the contrary, it will intensify the conflict on the island with serious international repercussions. The administrative status of Cyprus is a matter that

299. "The Complete Works of Archbishop Makarios III of Cyprus," vol. 3, p. 167.

*concerns the people of the island as a whole and should be decided between them and Great Britain, without the complications caused by such outside interference."*³⁰⁰

In London, some leading circles and certain newspapers reacted negatively to the offer by Dighenis. Harding was among the reactionists. The Times of London wrote that the truce was a tactical manoeuvre by Dighenis and urged for the military operations to continue against EOKA. British public opinion wanted the pacification of the island.

On 6 August the Turkish organization TMT, which opposed the EOKA struggle, ordered the Turks to cease any armed activity, following an appeal by the Prime Minister of Turkey, Adnan Menderes. It said in a leaflet:

"All armed groups must cease any kind of activity until further notice. The necessary orders shall be sent to the group leaders in the normal way."

*The village groups must stop their action and their relations with the simple auxiliary teams. No new acts of reprisals should be undertaken until further notice. The necessary orders shall be issued immediately to the leaders of the country teams."*³⁰¹

Diplomatic activity for the solution of the Cyprus problem followed. The British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan and Foot held talks in Athens with the Greek Prime Minister Constantinos Karamanlis on 7 August. The two Britons went to Ankara on 9 August where Anglo-Turkish discussions took place. On 11 August, Macmillan came to Cyprus and held meetings with the mayors of Nicosia and Kyrenia, as well as with Turkish Cypriot leaders. No result came out of the talks and Greece launched a new appeal to the United Nations on 14 August 1958.

During his stay in Athens, Foot met twice with Archbishop Makarios and discussed with him the British plan for the solution of

300. Ibid, p. 396.

301. P. Papademetris – P. Petrides, " Historical Encyclopedia of Cyprus (1878-1978), vol. 11, p.302.

the Cyprus problem. The Archbishop said that he considered it unacceptable. He formalized his position in a letter dated 16 August. In one of its paragraphs the Archbishop underlined the following:

*"It ought to become absolutely clear that the Greek people of Cyprus can never accept a plan, which ignores its basic democratic rights and denies it both freedom and peace. For, freedom is violated by a plan, which imposes outside Governments over the heads of the Cyprus people, and which breaks up its unity through a divisive constitution, aiming to damage the final solution. Furthermore, peace will be a fugitive from the island under a regime, which establishes constant dissent and separation, thus establishing not a basis for unity and cooperation but of intense competition and dispute with wider repercussions."*³⁰²

In a press conference he held at the offices of the Athens Daily Newspapers Union on 28 August, Archbishop Makarios said among other things the following:

a) *"No people could ever accept as an allegedly temporary settlement of its quest for freedom, its further subjugation by the imposition on it, in any form whatsoever, of yet another foreign country, under the pretext that a small minority within it belongs to that country. Nor could it be logically expected of the Cypriot people to accept and tolerate the provisions of a plan, which bring about the dissolution of its unitary character and its break-up in to two separate peoples, in a way openly destined to lead to the catastrophic partition of the island."*

Contrary to the phrases about 'partnership and cooperation' used by the British Government in the preamble to the plan, this in practice will intensify and solidify the Greek-Turkish division and conflict on the island, given that the plan encourages the Turks to promote partition."

b) *"The British plan about 'partnership' is contrary to the provisions of the U.N. Charter and those of existing treaties. Cyprus today is a non self-governing territory and, according to the law of the U.N. Charter, the island belongs to the Cypriots, while the administering*

302. "The Complete Works of Archbishop Makarios III of Cyprus," vol.3, p. 401.

power has the obligation to give priority to the interest of the Cyprus people and lead it to independence. Other provisions of the Charter expressly recognize the right of self-determination of all peoples, who are thus the only competent ones to decide about their future."

c) *"The Cypriot people is determined to oppose and repel with all the means at its disposal - it has considerable capabilities both on the island and on the international level - any possible attempt for the return of Turkey to the island, under any guise. Such an attempt would inevitably have wider destructive consequences for peace in this sensitive region of the world."*

d) *"The time has come for a substantive intervention by the United Nations for an end to the Cyprus drama and the restoration of peace on the island. It is the only remaining way to prevent further tragic complications in a situation, which seriously threatens international peace and security."*³⁰³

The Greek Government on 19 August 1958 also rejected the British plan, to which minor changes had been made.

Macmillan was bent on implementing his Cyprus plan. On 15 August he stated that the application of his plan would definitely begin on 1 October 1958, without the cooperation of Greece, the Archbishop and the Greeks of Cyprus.

In a leaflet he put out on 21 August, Dighenis wrote on the issue:

*"We shall not submit to the Anglo-Turkish conspiracy of partnership. We do not accept compromises. We clearly demand SELF-DETERMINATION. The 450,000 Greeks are determined to react by all means. No power is capable of making us bow down and have this monster, the British Plan of subjugation to the Anglo-Turks, imposed on us. The English Plan will be crushed by the will of the Cyprus people."*³⁰⁴

The Greek Government turned to NATO to ask for its help in canceling the implementation of the plan. The General Secretary of the Organisation showed an interest in the problem and submitted a

303. "The Complete Works of Archbishop Makarios III of Cyprus," vol. 3, pp. 410-414.

304. General George Grivas-Dighenis, "Memoirs...", p. 283.

plan of his own, but without result, as the English together with the Turks and the Americans reacted against it.

The English issue a leaflet, asking the Cypriot people to supply information leading to the discovery of weapons

Their inability to crush EOKA had placed the English in a difficult situation in August 1958. They then devised to distribute a leaflet calling on the Cypriot people to supply information that would lead to the discovery of weapons. The payment to each informer would be proportional to the result that his information would yield. Below is an extract from the leaflet:

"Do you know where guns and explosives are hidden? If you do, then you may contribute to saving lives, by giving information to the authorities on the whereabouts of these weapons and explosives.

The Government is willing to pay SUBSTANTIAL REWARDS for information leading to the discovery of arms and ammunition suitable for use. The rewards are as follows: Light machine guns or mortars 500 pounds, automatic weapons (Sten, Thompson etc) 150 pounds, automatic revolvers 150 pounds, rifles or greeners 50 pounds, revolvers 50 pounds, shotguns 40 pounds. In addition, for information leading to the direct discovery of a number of weapons in a usable condition (or capable of easily becoming usable), the Government will pay 2,500 (two thousand five hundred pounds).

If you know where any of these weapons or explosives is hidden and wish to collect the reward, this is what you should do:

Write down your information with all the details on a clean sheet of paper. Do not sign by your name, but use an assumed name or number instead. Write the date on the edge of the paper. Mail your letter in a plain envelope to:

*H.E. the Governor, Government House – Nicosia
and write on the upper left part the word personal.*"³⁰⁵

The leaflet did not achieve its purpose. Not a single Greek of Cyprus gave any information.

305. General George Grivas – Dighenis, "Memoirs...", p. 294.

The British Labour Party opposes the policy of the British Government – Statements by Tom Dreiberg, Party Leader, in September 1958

Since the beginning of the EOKA liberation struggle, the British Labour Party had adopted positions opposed to those of the ruling Conservative Party.

Addressing the Colonial Secretary, Lennox-Boyd, in the House of Commons on 27 April 1955, Tony Ben MP said:

"Wouldn't the honourable gentleman agree that, according to infallible historical experience, when a people is excluded from the prospect of freedom, it would resort to violence?"

On 5 May 1955, Dreiberg MP clearly stated:

*"What the Labour Party supports is self-determination, and this in the specific case of Cyprus might mean Enosis."*³⁰⁶

While in Cyprus, the same Leader of the British Labour Party stated on 7 September 1958 that he would not visit Ankara, as he did not recognize any rights of Turkey over Cyprus. Earlier he had visited Athens and told Archbishop Makarios that the Labour Party opposed the partition of Cyprus and supported self-determination for the Cyprus people.³⁰⁷

The political positions and actions of Greece regarding the Macmillan plan in September 1958 – Archbishop Makarios appeals to the Ambassadors of Britain and the USA in Athens – The Cyprus problem once again at the U.N.

In September 1958 the English insisted on the implementation of the Macmillan plan for a solution of the Cyprus problem.

The Prime Minister of Greece, Constantinos Karamanlis, in statements he made in Athens on 6 September, warned Britain about the disastrous consequences the implementation of the plan would have on the unwilling Cypriot people. His statements were as follows:

"Britain has until today made many mistakes in relation to the

306. Leontios Ierodiakonou, "The Cyprus Problem," pp. 94-95.

307. General George Grivas-Dighenis, "Memoirs...", p. 302.

Cyprus problem. A bigger mistake yet is the insistence of the British Government to unilaterally and arbitrarily implement the plan proposed by it. This plan is first of all unjust, because it involves violating the will of the great majority of the Cyprus people. It was difficult to implement the plan from the start. It has now become practically impossible to implement it, since the factors on which its application depends, that is 80% of the Cyprus people and the Greek Government, refuse to cooperate. But in addition, this plan constitutes a violation of the Treaty of Lausanne. Everybody would expect that a great democratic country should not set an example for such glaring violation of a treaty, which also bears its signature. The insistence of Britain on a unilateral implementation of the plan would result in worsening even more the situation in Cyprus and possibly lead to dangerous developments, which would not be compatible to the interests and the spirit of the free world. In insisting on the application of the plan and disregarding the reasonable and moderate proposals of the Greek Government and the Greeks of Cyprus, the British Government shall be exclusively responsible for any consequences. In order to counter this decision by the British Government, a decision unfair to the Cyprus people and provocative for Greece, the Greek Government has decided to avail itself of all the political and diplomatic means at its disposal. The Greek Government has already informed the allied Governments of its aforesaid decision."³⁰⁸

The Greek Foreign Minister, Evangelos Averoff, also made statements in New York, describing the British plan for the solution of the Cyprus problem as an "abnormal solution." He went on to say that it would create a dangerous complication to the Middle East situation and that Greece would continue to fight for the liberation of Cyprus from colonial rule.

The Permanent Representative of Greece to the UN, Chr. Xanthopoulos-Palamas, in a memorandum referred to the critical stage the Cyprus problem had reached on account of the Anglo-Turkish partnership set up by the Macmillan plan.

308. Nikos Kranidiotis, "Difficult years...", pp. 338-339.

Archbishop Makarios appealed to the Ambassadors of Britain and the USA in Athens on 12 September for the cancellation of the arrival in Cyprus of the Turkish commissioner, as envisaged in the Macmillan plan, warning that otherwise every hope of settling the Cyprus problem would be lost.

While the English were busy with the application of the Macmillan plan, the Cyprus problem appeared once again on the agenda of the General Assembly of the United Nations on 17 September 1958.

On 19 September a meeting was held in Athens under the chairmanship of the Prime Minister to discuss ways of confronting the British threat for the application of the Macmillan plan. It was decided to ask for NATO mediation to thwart the plan. Archbishop Makarios agreed to this as well. An official note by the Greek Government on 20 September said that the implementation of the plan would render problematic the position of Greece within NATO and called on the General Secretary of the Organisation to intervene personally. At the same time it suggested that there could be a different solution than implementing the Macmillan plan. The NATO General Secretary, Henri Spaak, arrived in Athens on 23 September and suggested a seven-year period of self-government for the Cyprus people, followed by a final solution of the problem. These proposals met with the approval by Archbishop Makarios, but they were cancelled because of reactions from Britain and Turkey and an American intervention. The NATO plan was then revised extensively and finally Archbishop Makarios and the Greek Government also rejected it.

Archbishop Makarios states that he accepts the independence of Cyprus with U.N. guarantees, following a period of self - government - The British Government presses ahead for the implementation of the Macmillan plan in cooperation with Turkey - Archbishop Makarios makes a proclamation to the Cyprus people

The Deputy Leader of the British Labour Party, Barbara Castle, on her return to London from Athens where she held talks with Arch-

bishop Makarios, stated on 23 September 1958 that the Archbishop did not rule out independence for Cyprus with U.N. guarantees, after a specified period of self-government. The status of independence would not be changed except by United Nations approval. In his statements to Castle, Archbishop Makarios had said:

*"I suggest that after a fixed period of self-government, Cyprus could become an independent state, not connected either to Greece or Turkey... I am prepared to accept the establishment of an independent state in Cyprus, under the condition that this will not change either by union with Greece or partition, nor in any other way, unless the United Nations approved of such a change... Furthermore, the Island remaining within the (British) Commonwealth is not incompatible with the status I am proposing."*³⁰⁹

The Archbishop's proposal for independence came as a surprise to many. His close associate, Nikos Kranidiotis, visited the Archbishop at his residence in Ekali, to be informed on the issue. He wrote about their meeting:

*"I left immediately for Ekali, where I saw Makarios pacing up and down restlessly on the verandah of his house. I was quick to express my reservations about the interview (with Barbara Castle). Makarios shared my concern, but said that a way had to be found out of the unfavourable climate, which had been created. He said there had to be a diversion to the Macmillan plan, in order to draw international attention and thwart the partitionist British designs."*³¹⁰

The Archbishop formally submitted his proposal for the independence of Cyprus to the British Government through the British Ambassador to Athens, Sir Roger Allen, on 27 September. He also wrote a briefing letter on the same issue to Dighenis on 23 September. In it he explained the reasons which led to the independence proposal. Dighenis received the Archbishop's letter on 28 September.

309. "The Complete Works of Archbishop Makarios III of Cyprus," Vol. 3, p. 419.

310. Nikos Kranidiotis, "Difficult Years...", p. 343.

ber. For security reasons, the Archbishop wrote the letter in the third person. An extensive extract from the letter is quoted below:

"Although this new line may be described as a concession, it is a tactical move dictated by the present situation and the need to face reality calmly. The latest information that reached the Archbishop was very disheartening. According to it, the British Government is determined to implement its plan. In the meantime, there has been a change in British public opinion against us, and the British press, including Labour newspapers, when they are not criticizing us, they carefully avoid under the pressure of public opinion, any report that might offend the image of the British troops in Cyprus, while they remain silent about the tortures and other brutal behaviour of the Security Forces and confine themselves to underlining the seriousness of the situation and the need to protect the interests of the Turks in Cyprus. Besides, America has fully aligned its policy with that of the English."

The chances of success at the United Nations are very limited, and with a demand for self-determination we wouldn't even have last year's success. Barbara Castle and other influential Labour personalities expressed inability to react against the British plan, unless the Archbishop offered something new, which would sound favourably in England under the present circumstances. They said that in such a case they would be prepared to make a move towards the English Prime Minister and to promote the Archbishop's views through their current Congress and through their newspapers.

I cannot foresee the consequences now, but they could not be bad. Besides, even at the United Nations we could base our hopes only on independence. The position of Greece within the Western Alliances and the western camp in general is such as to render extremely difficult any decisive move towards a substantial and positive support of the Cypriot demand. Only by abandoning the Western camp a new situation could be created, but such an enterprise is completely unacceptable to the Greek side."

Under the prevailing circumstances, therefore, we would sooner or later be obliged to reach a solution of independence. I too agree

with the Archbishop's views that a courageous and realistic handling of the situation, as well as timely decision-making, would have been necessary even before the developments had created *faits-accomplis*. For, the imposition of the British plan – regardless of how courageous and decisive the resistance of the Greek Cypriot people might be – would inevitably lead to partition or, at the least, it would automatically shape situations and secure for the Turks rights, which it would have been impossible to override later, even if international circumstances changed."³¹¹

Dighenis replied to the Archbishop's letter on 29 September, noting the following:

a) "We took over a people, we pushed them to a heroic struggle in which they gave us what we asked of them, and yet, 31/2 years later, after the sacrifices, after the unspeakable destructions and suppression they suffered, after acts of heroism on their part, which cause admiration but also pride, we are surrendering them to a subjugation more cruel than they have ever experienced and, what's more, to two masters instead of one, and with the possibility that they might never be able to come out of the grave in which we have thrown them."

b) "I am afraid that we shall fall into a new English trap and that these proposals will mean the beginning of a series of concessions, until we reach a monster-plan."³¹²

The Conservatives in Britain did not accept the proposals of the Archbishop, claiming that these gave a final solution to the problem, whilst their plan provided for a transitional situation, deemed necessary before the final solution in order to temper passions.

By contrast, the Labour party considered that the Archbishop's proposals were a basis for negotiations and advised the British Government to suspend the application of the British plan.

311. "The Complete Works of Archbishop Makarios III of Cyprus," vol. 3, pp. 420-421.

312. General George Grivas- Dighenis, "Memoirs...", p. 305.

The Executive Committee of the Labour Party in an announcement dated 26 September stressed that no solution was possible without the consent of the inhabitants of Cyprus, whose overwhelming majority had rejected the plan, and suggested the resumption of talks with Cypriot representatives.³¹³

Leading officials of the Labour Party criticized the British Government for its stance against the Archbishop's proposal for an independent Cyprus.

Hugh Gaitskell described the proposal of the Archbishop as being of the utmost significance. James Callaghan and Barbara Castle said that the application of the British plan was a criminal act and that Britain would be responsible for the loss of British and Cypriot lives. Aneurin Bevan accused the British Government of preventing a solution to the Cyprus problem.

The 1st of October 1958 was the date set for implementation of the British plan to get under way. The British Foreign Secretary, Selwyn Lloyd, declared that either the British plan should be implemented or Cyprus partitioned in the near future. The British Prime Minister stated that the implementation of the plan "will proceed quietly and without provocations."

Turkey was now working with Britain for the application of the British plan. The Cyprus Broadcasting Corporation announced on 29 September that the Turkish Government had appointed Burhan Ishin, Turkey's Consul in Nicosia, as its representative "to advise on matters concerning the Turkish Community in Cyprus."

Greece reacted through the diplomatic channels to the application of the British plan.

Archbishop Makarios addressed a message to the Cyprus people over the Athens radio on 3 October, in which he strongly criticized the British plan. Two extracts from his message were the following:

a) "The British Government, providing once again a token of its intransigence and bad faith, is going ahead with a forceful applica-

313. Leontios Ierodiakonou, "The Cyprus problem," pp. 297-298.

tion of its arbitrary plan, which the whole of the Greek Cypriot people has already censured and rejected. By this plan, which has been the result of an unlawful Anglo-Turkish collusion at the expense of the Greek Cypriot people, the British Government, knocking over the principle of respect for existing international treaties and in disregard to any democratic institution, ushers in the break-up of the historical, political and economic unity of the Cyprus space and arbitrarily attempts to impose the will of a small minority on the large majority of the Cyprus people. It is obvious that the British plan, by fostering dissent and friction on the island, aims through the division of the people to perpetuate the British occupation of the island and to project the British Government as a mediator in a Greek-Turkish dispute. The Cyprus issue, however, is not a Greek-Turkish dispute, but an object of disagreement and argumentation between the British Government on the one hand and the Cyprus people on the other, which asks in accordance with internationally recognized principles, to be allowed to decide its own fate and to freely define its political future."

b) "Faced with such a glaring violation of any principle of morality and justice, we call on the Cypriot people, united and firm, regardless of ideological beliefs and social standing, to react courageously against the imposition of the new British plan and to fight as one man for its threatened places of worship and homes. Our struggle is already entering a decisive stage. Threatened at this moment are not only the historical unity of our country, not only our safety and peace, but also the very survival of our race on the Island. Fight now for all! Our historic responsibilities are overwhelming. We do not underestimate the difficulties that are before us. But our people have already demonstrated in an admirable way that they despise dangers, that they do not mind the obstacles, that they are clearly conscious of their noble ambitions, in the pursuance of which they are prepared to sacrifice their very lives."³¹⁴

314. "The Complete Works of Archbishop Makarios III of Cyprus," vol. 3, pp. 180-181.

6. POLITICAL AND MILITARY EVENTS DURING DECEMBER 1958 AND JANUARY 1959

The 265 political detainees held at the Polemi detention camp send a report to the General representative of the International Red Cross in the Middle East, David de Trass, about their conditions of imprisonment

In December 1958, the 265 political prisoners held in the Polemi detention camp submitted a report to the representative of the Red Cross, David de Trass, about their appalling living conditions. The extracts below clearly show the humiliations and the degradations to which the 265 Cypriot political detainees were subjected.

a) "We protest the completely unfair and brutal ill treatment by the military authorities, before the eyes and in the knowledge of the political authorities. At first we would like to refer to the vicious reception we were given on the first day of our arrival at Polemi camp. It included beatings, punches and humiliating insults amongst other. We were made to stand under the scorching sun with our hands raised for more than 4 hours."

b) "By the most moderate estimates at least 30 of us were beaten every day and had to be carried by fellow prisoners to the sick bay of the camp which was such in name only, since no medical care whatsoever was provided. In almost all of the cases, first aid was administered by the fellow prisoners and very rarely by a doctor. Old folk, priests, seriously ill persons, the dumb and any other handicapped people were not exempt from beating. We refer in particular to the case of Vassilis Alexandrou, D.P. 2508 who, although seriously ill, was not exempted from the above ill treatment, with the result that his condition worsened and his death was accelerated. Having been transferred to the hospital when it was already too late and while he was only one step from death, and despite the appeals by his family and his fellow prisoners for his release, the Governor shut his ears to the protestations and continued to consider his detention necessary, finally releasing him only when it was too late. The late Vassilis was in the throes of death."

c) "On 7.9.1958, 18 prisoners No 2690-2707 were ill treated until they lost consciousness. Prisoners No D.P. 2731-2735 shared the same fate on their arrival at the camp on 12.9. 1958. On the night of the 13th, which was the most horrible in our life, everybody was beaten up. There were 40 seriously injured, while the rest received lesser injuries. Included among the 40 were D.P. 897, who sustained a broken right arm, and D.P. 2523, who suffered a concussion. Other victims of nightly beatings were D.P. 25 72, who was beaten up inside tent 20, suffering a broken leg, D.P. 2607, who suffered similar harm, and D.P. 2767, 2788 and 2783, who shared the same fate, although the last two are suffering from stomach illness (duodenal ulcer).

d) "Life in Polemi camp is a continuing drama, almost unbelievable to those who have not experienced it themselves, to those who have not known degradation, beatings until they pass out, slow death, if we can call it that. We also protest most strongly at the cruel and inhuman treatment of fellow prisoners in the various interrogation centres, resulting in one case to the death of Platon Stylianou. We attach specific personal complaints by others."³¹⁵

The debate of the Cyprus problem at the United Nations – The General Assembly approves a draft resolution by Mexico – Archbishop Makarios makes statements

The Cyprus problem was once again debated at the 13th Session of the U.N. General Assembly in December 1958. The discussion began in the Political Committee on 25 November. The Committee had to examine seven draft resolutions submitted by Greece, Britain, Turkey, Persia, Colombia, Belgium and by a group of other states on the initiative of the Indian representative, Krishna Menon. The Greek draft provided for independence, following a period of genuine democratic self-government. The British draft was based on the Macmillan plan. The Turkish draft referred to the partition of the island that

315. Yiannis Chr. Spanos, "EOKA – This is how Greeks fight," vol. 1, pp. 163-165.

would ensue from the application of the self-determination principle separately for Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots. The Persian plan, favouring Britain and Turkey was finally approved (31 votes in favour, 22 against and 28 abstentions).

There followed an initiative by the British representative, Sir Pearson Dixon, who invited the Foreign Ministers of Greece and Turkey, Averoff and Zorlu, to a joint meeting, at which it was agreed to support a compromise plan prepared by the delegation of Mexico. This was unanimously passed on 5 December 1958 under No 1287-XII. The text of the plan said:

*"The General Assembly, confirming its resolution 1013-XI of 26th February 1957, expresses the belief that continuous efforts should be exerted by all the interested parties to reach a peaceful, democratic and just solution, in accordance with the United Nations Charter."*³¹⁶

Following the approval of this resolution, a new meeting of Averoff and Zorlu took place, at which they agreed to discuss the problem between the two of them when the NATO Foreign Ministers met in Paris.

After the General Assembly resolution, Archbishop Makarios stated among other things:

*"The Greek delegation and the Foreign Minister Mr. Averoff in particular, exerted superhuman efforts and succeeded, despite very strong reactions, to shift the basis of the Persian plan from the position favouring the Anglo-Turkish aims. Mr. Averoff fought a brave battle for the Cyprus issue, which he handled with high political ethos and diplomatic ability, achieving whatever it was possible to be achieved under the most difficult of circumstances."*³¹⁷

Commenting on the resolution, Archbishop Makarios said in other statements on 6 December 1958: *"It is of a constructive character,*

316. "The Complete Works of Archbishop Makarios III of Cyprus," vol. 3, p. 455, footnote.

317. "The Complete Works of Archbishop Makarios III of Cyprus," vol. 3, p. 455.

*since it speaks of a just and democratic solution. The specific basis for such a solution is not stipulated, as it should be, in the resolution." In conclusion to his commentary, he said that "the Cypriot people is always ready for talks, but it will never renounce its principles or accept to sacrifice its inalienable national rights."*³¹⁸

Other events in December 1958 and January 1959

The Colonial Secretary of Britain, Lennox-Boyd, told a meeting of the Conservative members of the Foreign and Colonial Affairs Parliamentary Committee on 11 December 1958 that there was a British plan for the partition of Cyprus.

The Foreign Minister of Greece, Evangelos Averoff, replying to the statements by Lennox-Boyd, said that Greece was not daunted by threats of partitioning Cyprus and that it would continue to view the question of the island's freedom through a long-term struggle.

Under pressure from the opposition, the British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan stated in the House of Commons on 18 December that partition was the worse solution for Cyprus, but did not rule it out if other efforts failed.

On the same day a meeting of the Foreign Ministers of Britain, Greece and Turkey (Selwin Lloyd, Averoff, Zorlu) took place in Paris on the occasion of the NATO conference. At this meeting, Zorlu stated that Turkey would abandon the Macmillan plan, if Turks and Greeks in Cyprus were represented equally in the would-be Cypriot parliament.

Stopping over at Rome on his return from Paris on 20 December, Averoff made the following statement about his meeting with Lloyd and Zorlu:

*"An improvement of atmosphere was achieved in relation to the Cyprus problem, but we have not been able to go into the substantive details, on which a solution of the problem depends. I am cautiously optimistic."*³¹⁹

318. Ibid, p. 456.

319. General George Grivas-Dighenis, "Memoirs..." p. 336.

Averoff wrote a letter to Dighenis, informing him about the debate on the Cyprus problem at the U.N. and the efforts being made to come to an understanding with the Turks. Two points in the letter are noteworthy:

a) *"We kept winning at the U.N. this year during the debate and had convinced almost all the delegations. This was expressed by strong speeches, nearly all of which categorically condemned partition and took a position in favour of guaranteed independence."*

b) *"Already an effort is underway to come to an understanding with the Turks on the basis of guaranteed independence, but with equality between the Greeks and Turks of Cyprus. I admit that I am in a difficult position and perhaps at a deadlock."*

Dighenis replied to the above letter, mentioning also the following:

a) *"You write to me that the basis of these negotiations is "guaranteed independence". Our enemies have taught us, however, that for each term they have their own interpretation and not the internationally recognized one. Consequently, the 'guaranteed independence' may end up being a monster of joint sovereignty and joint administration between the majority and the minority. Only when the final views of our adversaries are presented to me could I possibly decide for or against."*

b) *"Let the Greek Government push ahead with a solution that would satisfy the Cypriot people. A clear solution, not an hermaphrodite one. A solution securing peace and not a compromised one dictated by the circumstances and beset by obstacles. A solution that would allow for the majority to rule and not be manipulated and oppressed either by the tyrant or the minority."*

If such a solution is not achieved, then the Greek Government has to choose between two roads:

To continue the struggle on the side of the Cypriot people, which it must support with all its power in the diplomatic field and not with temerity. That is all the Cyprus people ask, the rest pertaining to the struggle are their affair alone.

To confess sincerely and openly that it can no longer contribute

anything to the Cyprus struggle, except that which the negotiations will yield. And then it would be up to the Cyprus people to make decisions.

*This would be manly and honest.*³²⁰

The operations of the English against EOKA continued in December 1958 even after the U.N. resolution on Cyprus. Large-scale military operations began on 10 December in the northeastern part of Cyprus and were later extended to the area of Lekoniko village, which was blockaded for ten days. Navy and air force units also took part in these operations. In Kyrenia district the people suffered hardships because of the curfews, which often went on for days, as in the case of Bellapais. The army ill-treated the villagers and held them as hostages in order to break their morale. For this reason Dighenis issued an order for women folk and children to defend the villages against the army. This proved an effective tactic during December 1958 and January 1959 when the inhabitants of the villages clashed with soldiers. Two incidents are cited below:

a) "20 December 1958. Women clashed with soldiers for four days in Ayios Ioannis village of the Pitsilia region. Under the threat of arms the soldiers were forcing the inhabitants to erase slogans painted in the village. The women attacked the soldiers with stones and freed their fellow villagers. The army used tear gas bombs against the women.

b) "22 January 1959. Disturbances took place in the villages of Agros and Agridia, following an attack and insulting behaviour by the army. The inhabitants of these villages – men and women – used self-defence and responded with sticks and stones against the soldiers. A woman received a bullet wound. The soldiers retreated before the force of the defending inhabitants. A helicopter was used to drop tear gas grenades against them. Both villages were placed under a curfew. The soldiers committed atrocities on an unprecedented scale. A team from the Human Rights Committee, composed of

Cypriot doctors and lawyers, went there on 28 January and reported beatings, stripping of young girls etc."^{320a}

In the face of continuing operations against EOKA, Dighenis issued a proclamation on 24 December 1958, calling on the British Government to give a solution to the Cyprus problem satisfying the Cypriot people, otherwise the EOKA campaign would continue. The full text of the proclamation is quoted below:

"LET HIM CHOOSE

The U.N. resolution has been a clear condemnation of the monstrous plan, devised by the Tory government to perpetuate the enslavement of the Cypriot people by applying the policy of 'divide and rule.'

Even before the Cyprus debate at the U.N. got under way, we relaxed our activity, as we had then stated, and on our part we have given the chance for a peaceful atmosphere to prevail.

Like so many other times in the past, we again found ourselves before the intransigent lack of response on the part of the Tories, who continued the suppression of the Cypriot people with searches, curfews, ill treatment of citizens, destruction of property etc.

The member countries of the U.N. will judge our stance and that of the Tories.

We showed respect to the U.N. resolution as we did in the past and we shall continue to do so. We shall, therefore, now cease the activities forced on us, provided the other side does the same; we shall wait to see how the British Government intends to apply the United Nations resolution.

We are ready for both: for a long-term armed struggle, if the British intransigence continues, and for a cessation of the struggle, provided that a just solution is offered to the Cypriot people, satisfying its demands.

We hope that the British Government will not interpret and trumpet this gesture of ours as a sign of weakness, as it did in the

320. Ibid, pp. 337-338.

320a. General George Grivas-Dighenis, "Memoirs...", Appendix, p.45.

past, because it will be forced out of its illusion with a shock.

We are offering an opportunity for the solution of the Cyprus problem in a peaceful atmosphere.

Let the enemy choose.

E.O.K.A. THE LEADER DIGHENIS. " 321

On the same day that the above proclamation by Dighenis was being distributed, Foot held a meeting with his political and military advisers. The Cyprus Government responded to Dighenis' proclamation for a cease-fire, although it made no formal announcement.

Foot called on the Acting Ethnarch, Bishop Anthimos of Kition, on 1 January 1959, asking him to exercise his influence for the EO-KA truce to continue, so that the necessary peaceful conditions would be created for negotiations to be carried out on the solution of the Cyprus problem. Bishop Anthimos replied that the Cypriot people observed the peace, but there was to the contrary no substantial response on the part of the Governor. In his turn he asked Foot : 1) to release all prisoners. 2) to terminate all the provocations by the English troops in Cyprus. 3) to stop every government activity towards initiating the implementation of the island's partition (in the municipalities, hospitals etc). 4) to stop threatening the Cyprus people with enforcing partition and to show good will for the solution of the Cyprus problem in accordance with the wishes of the people.

Foot's answer to the above was that he would respond positively to the gesture by EOKA, but in a step-by-step manner. Regarding the partition issue, he referred to Prime Minister Macmillan's statement, in which he had said that the partition of Cyprus was the worst solution.

The military in Cyprus did not share Foot's view on how to handle EOKA, General Darling in particular, who was in charge of operations against it. This was clearly demonstrated on 6 January 1959

321. General George Grivas-Dighenis, "Memoirs...", p. 341.

when a thousand soldiers, supported by helicopters and light aircraft, began massive operations covering a large area in the Kampos - Machairas regions. These were later extended to the Machairas - Marathasa - Solea area. On 12 January, the areas of Morphou, Pomos, Lania, Kapilio and others were also included.

The British War Minister, Christopher Soames, came to Cyprus and was quick to state on 8 January 1959 that the truce offer of EO-KA could not be considered as permanent peace. The Cyprus question, he added, was in the hands of the Governor and the security forces must continue to do what is required to maintain law and order.

In a radio speech on 13 January, Foot said: *"If the truce is a step towards permanent peace we welcome it, but we are not going to bargain with violence."*³²²

The military operations of 6 January ended on the 19 of the same month without results, so there was no need for EOKA to take any counter action.

New operations began on 29 January in the Karpass, lasting until 3 February. The Government described them as "a combination of training exercises with extensive patrol activity."

EOKA did not respond to the provocations by the English, except for reasons of self-defence. Dighenis issued orders to all the sections, defining the following aims during this period: 1) Adoption of defensive measures. 2) To make the people understand that EO-KA was on stand-by and following developments closely. If the need arises, the Struggle shall continue persistently and for a long time. 3) To decide what form the struggle should take and what preparation was needed for it. 4) To establish self-defence teams of the population everywhere, in order to confront the abuses and the acts of violence by the army.

The EOKA leader wrote about the self-defence of the population.

"These teams of self-defence were formed and yielded excellent

322. General George Grivas-Dighenis, "Memoirs...", p. 344.

results. I was indeed astonished at the determination and the spirit displayed by the women and children of the self-defence teams. I do not know of any other collective heroism by women in the history of peoples, except that of the Souliotisses.^(Trans. n. 11) If our campaign had continued, I would have provided for the arming of women and children and their use in military missions. We must all pay tribute – and I am the first to do so – to the Greek Cypriot woman."^{322a}

7. TALKS BETWEEN GREECE AND TURKEY FOR THE SOLUTION OF THE CYPRUS PROBLEM – THE SIGNING OF THE ZURICH – LONDON AGREEMENTS

Following the U.N. resolution on Cyprus of 5 December 1958, the Foreign Ministers of Greece and Turkey, Averoff and Zorlou, exchanged views on the solution of the Cyprus problem.

Averoff briefed Dighenis generally on the negotiations that went on in a letter dated 11 January 1959. Among other things he wrote:

"There is a blackout on diplomatic activity. Nevertheless, highly classified information imparted to me reveals the following: Greek – Turkish contacts are making more progress than it appears. Some coincidence of views is in the offing on the basis of independence, providing for a special position and prerogatives for the Turks and their participation in the State, with friendly relations equally towards Greece and Turkey, but with a very prominent position for the Greeks. The English bases remain under full British sovereignty. But there are still quite a few disagreements. Until now the British claim they are not kept informed of the details. They were only asked if they would relinquish their sovereignty if the Greeks and Turks agreed... It seems that one of the points Averoff and Zor-

Trans. n. 11: The women of the mountainous community of Souli in Greece, which bravely fought the Turks during the 1821 Greek War of Independence.

322a. General George Grivas-Dighenis, "Memoirs...", p. 345.

lou had agreed on first of all was to maintain absolute secrecy until an agreement on principle is reached."³²³

The Foreign Ministers of Greece and Turkey held more talks in Paris between 18 and 20 January 1959. A climate of optimism then prevailed for a solution to the Cyprus problem.

The Prime Ministers of Greece and Turkey met in Zurich on 4 February 1959, accompanied by their advisers. There the basic aspects of the Cyprus problem were discussed. On 11 February, the Prime Ministers Karamanlis and Menderes initialled the Zurich Agreements, which included the following texts:

- 1) Basic structure of the Republic of Cyprus.
- 2) Treaty of Guarantee between the Republic of Cyprus and Great Britain, Greece and Turkey.
- 3) Treaty of Alliance between the Republic of Cyprus, Greece and Turkey.
- 4) Gentlemen's Agreement concluded between Messrs Karamanlis and Menderes.³²⁴

After the initialling of the Agreements, Karamanlis stated:

*"We have established the basis for the solution of one of the most difficult problems."*³²⁵

The Agreements having been initialled, the Prime Ministers of the two countries, the Foreign Ministers and the Ambassadors, Pasmazoglou and Verkin, for the first time sat down at a common table and dined together.

The two Prime Ministers left Zurich for their respective capitals, Karamanlis being accompanied by George Pasmazoglou, Demetris Bitsios and Angelos Vlachos.

The two Foreign Ministers went to London, to carry out negotiations with the English so as to complete the Agreements with issues

323. General George Grivas-Dighenis "Memoirs...", p. 352.

324. Nikos Kranidiotis "Difficult Years..." pp. 534-547.

325. P. Papademetris-P. Petrides, "Historical Encyclopedia of Cyprus (1878-1978)," Nicosia 1979-1980, vol. 12, p.37.

that interested the latter. Chr. Xanthopoulos-Palamas accompanied Averoff.

The lengthiest of the Zurich agreements was the one covering the "Basic structure of the Republic of Cyprus." It included 27 points and defined the basic lines along which the two delegations from Greece and Turkey, headed respectively by the university professors, Themistocles Tsatsos and Nihat Erim, would draft the articles of the Cyprus Constitution. On the basis of the general principles that had been agreed, Cyprus would be declared an independent Republic with a presidential system. In order to stress the meaning of the independent, sovereign and unitary state, the Governments of Greece and Turkey undertook the obligation to support the entry of the Republic of Cyprus to the United Nations Organisation. It was specified that the flag of the new state would be neutral. Greek and Turkish were approved as the official languages.

As soon as Karamanlis had returned to Athens, he informed Archbishop Makarios about the Zurich Agreements. Evangelos Averoff wrote on this point:

*"As soon as the Prime Minister arrived in Athens on the afternoon of 11 February 1959, he invited Archbishop Makarios to his house to inform him on the details, documents in hand. The Deputy Prime Minister Panayiotis Kanellopoulos, the Minister to the Prime Minister Constantinos Tsatsos and the Embassy Secretaries Demetris Bitsios and Angelos Vlachos were present at the meeting. The meeting lasted nearly four hours."*³²⁶

Following his briefing by C. Karamanlis, Archbishop Makarios made the following statement, which was published in all the Athens newspapers:

"I expressed my satisfaction to the Prime Minister, Mr. C. Karamanlis, and I congratulated him on the results of the Greek-Turkish talks in Zurich. The agreement reached lays the foundation for an

326. Evangelos Averoff-Tositsas, "A history of lost opportunities (The Cyprus Problem 1959-1963)," vol.2, pp. 191-192.

*immediate and final solution of the Cyprus problem, with Cyprus becoming an independent and sovereign State. The convergence of views by the Governments of Greece and Turkey on the Cyprus issue in a spirit of good will and understanding, shall open a new era of freedom and prosperity for Cyprus, both for the Greeks and the Turks of Cyprus."*³²⁷

The Archbishop briefed Nikos Kranidiotis, his close associate, on the Zurich agreements in a personal meeting they held on the night of 12 February. Kranidiotis recorded the following about this meeting:

"In the evening I called on him at the 'Great Britain' hotel. He seemed concerned, but he retained his self-confidence and that feeling of optimism that everything would go well. 'It was the only way to prevent the implementation of the Macmillan plan,' he said forestalling my queries.

He then recounted to me how the agreement had been reached: After the Paris talks – he said – and when Ambassador Pesmazoglou had prepared the ground through continuous negotiations in Ankara, the Prime Ministers and the Foreign Ministers of the two countries met in Zurich on 4 February, accompanied by their advisers. Arriving on the same day in London, evidently for the same purpose, was the U.S. Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, and the NATO Supreme Commander in Europe Wing Commander Norstant. The basic lines of the plan had already been drafted during the previous meetings of the two Ministers in New York and Paris. However, many pending issues and important differences still separated the two sides: The Turks insisted on a 'federal' solution and proposed the name 'Greek-Turkish Republic of Cyprus' for the new state, or 'Cyprus Federation.' They also demanded the cession of a Turkish military base on the Island, and insisted – in contrast to the Greek suggestion for a single electoral body – on separate Greek and Turkish electoral bodies, which would respectively elect their mem-

327. "The Complete Works of Archbishop Makarios III of Cyprus," vol. 3, p. 478.

bers of Parliament and the municipal authorities. The final drafts of the texts were finally agreed after very tense discussions...

'I knew,' Makarios added, 'about the general structure of the Agreements, but not the details. Having today read the texts, I have many reservations, especially as regards the Greek and the Turkish military contingents that would be stationed in Cyprus, the Treaty of Guarantee and the separate voting – on certain issues – by the Greek Cypriots and the Turkish Cypriots in the House of Representatives. I shall try to bring improvements on these points and negotiate with the English, in order to reduce as much as I can the area of the British Bases.'³²⁸

N. Kranidiotis, in a state of worry and uncertainty, told the Archbishop that he was not in a position to judge the texts of the Agreements, as he did not know their content, he added however that the Harding plan had been a better offer and was rejected with sentimental motives. To this comment the Archbishop replied:

"You may be right. But now events have overtaken us. Before the danger of having the Macmillan plan implemented, which has made Turkey a partner in Cyprus, Zurich is preferable. We must be realistic. Right now, twenty boys of EOKA are sentenced to death and are to be executed. The people in Cyprus are worn out by the English and the Turks. Even the passive resistance of EOKA with the boycott of British products is causing great discontent among the people. A solution had to be given."³²⁹

To a question by Kranidiotis, if Dighenis had been informed about the Agreements, the Archbishop answered that he had only a while ago sent him a letter, which he proceeded to read to him. The text of the letter was as follows:

"12 February 1959

The results of the Greek-Turkish talks in Zurich could be described as rather satisfactory. No better solution could be achieved

328. Nikos Kranidiotis, "Difficult Years....," pp. 360-362.

329. Ibid, p. 362.

under the prevailing circumstances. The final aim of the struggle was of course Enosis. I think, however, that we would be completely unrealistic if we believed that the policy line of 'Enosis and only Enosis' could lead us safely to the ultimate goal. The Turkish factor, which British diplomacy has created in the meantime, would never cease to exist, unless of course in the context of an international turmoil. And this factor would be an insurmountable obstacle to Enosis, even if the Labour Party came to power in England. I sincerely believe that by the Zurich Agreements we are making the most of the struggle and sacrifices of the Cypriot people. The agreement reached lays the foundation of an independent and sovereign Cyprus state, thus putting an end to the age-long enslavement of the Cypriot people. The terms of this agreement are not much different from the information published in the Press. The only point perhaps on which one could express reservations, is the provision for a tripartite alliance, in accordance with which a joint Greek-Turkish military headquarters would be set up in Cyprus, supported by 900 Greek soldiers, 600 Turks and 2,000 Cypriots. These headquarters would be periodically placed under a Greek, a Turk and Cypriot Lieutenant General. Its purposes would be purely defensive. If Cyprus becomes a member of NATO, the Headquarters is automatically abolished and will be substituted by a NATO echelon. As regards the veto right of the Turkish Vice-President, this would be limited to defence and to foreign policy in matters of treaty making, as well as to matters relating to discriminatory treatment of the minority, on which the supreme court shall have ultimate jurisdiction. Three Houses, two communal ones and a joint one, with a Greek representation of 70% and a Turkish representation of 30% in the latter shall exercise the legislative power. We do not yet know if the British Government will approve of the Zurich agreements. If the British Government agrees, then a conference will be held, in which the Cypriots shall also take part. We might possibly succeed to improve in our favour some of the agreement terms at this conference. The Archbishop is rather pleased. If you are not of a different opinion, I think it would be helpful if you issued a proclamation saying

that you will agree to that solution, which the political leadership will accept. I hope that the opportunity will be given to exchange views personally on future developments and take decisions together.

With much affection

HARIS." 330

The above letter of Archbishop Makarios' was sent by special diplomatic dispatch, reaching Dighenis on 13 February.

Following the initialling of the Zurich Agreements, the Foreign Ministers of Greece and Turkey together with the Foreign Secretary and the Colonial Secretary of Britain held long meetings in London, attended by their close aides. The purpose of these meetings was to prepare the texts for the London Agreements, relating to the retention of the bases under British sovereignty and the safeguarding of the facilities necessary for their viability. The discussions also related to the cession of Cyprus by Britain to the new state and the transitional provisions for the functioning of the new independent Cypriot republic.

A Five-Party conference was scheduled for the 17th of February at London's Lancaster House, to be attended by the Governments of Britain, Greece and Turkey, as well as Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot representatives for the signing of the final Agreements on Cyprus' independence.

Archbishop Makarios had invited 35 representative personalities of Cyprus to London, to brief them and consult with them about the context of the Agreements. If they agreed, he would proceed to sign them. The Acting Ethnarch Bishop Anthimos of Kition was among them. He had already sent the following telegram to C. Karamanlis, as published in the Athens newspapers:

"Interpreting the Greek Cypriot people's feelings of satisfaction for the agreement reached, we warmly congratulate your Excellen-

330. "The Complete Works of Archbishop Makarios III of Cyprus," vol. 3, pp. 479-480.

*cy on the successful handling of the Cyprus issue, convinced that this will usher in a new era of prosperity, and progress for the long-suffering people of the island."*³³¹

Maintaining his reservations about the Zurich Agreements, Dighenis issued the following order to all EOKA members on 13 February 1959:

"In connection with my previous order concerning a Greek-Turkish agreement on the Cyprus problem, I persistently stress the need to show cohesion and discipline within the ranks of the Organisation. When I am fully informed on some of its points, I shall communicate my decisions to you.

I shall betray neither the struggle nor the sacrifices of the fighting Cypriot people. Everybody must rest assured of this. I only obey the voice of Cyprus.

*I ask only one thing of you: Discipline to my orders. The time has come for us to prove that we are an organized unit, with high ideals, with love for our country and that we know how to win both in the battlefield of honour and in the field of politics."*³³²

On 14 February, Dighenis learnt over the radio about the invitation to the representatives of the Cyprus people and felt bitter that EOKA had been left out.

The Five-Party Conference at Lancaster House was held from 17-19 February. Archbishop Makarios had to go through a hard dilemma before signing the Zurich-London Agreements on 19 February 1959.

Nikos Kranidiotis noted the following on the Archbishop's psychological state on the night of 18th February:

"The evening of that day was surely one of the most dramatic in his life. He paced in his room without speaking. It was obvious that he was very concerned about having initially given his consent. The

331. Evangelos Averoff-Tositsas, "A history of lost opportunities (The Cyprus Problem 1950-1959)," vol. 2, p. 193.

332. General George Grivas-Dighenis, "Memoirs...", p. 376.

study of the texts, however, had later raised in him many doubts and hesitations. The abandonment of Enosis, the return of the Turkish troops in Cyprus, the fettered independence, the dual presidency, the separate Chambers, the extensive sovereign British Bases, substantially offset all those points the Archbishop had in the beginning considered as advantageous even in a conventional solution. He was in a difficult position."

After serious consideration, the Archbishop told Nikos Kranidiotis on the morning of 19th February:

*"I called the Greek delegation on the telephone and gave my final approval."*³³³

Of the Greek Cypriot representatives, 27 supported the signing of the Zurich – London agreements and 8 dissented.

The five-party London Conference convened on the 19th of February 1959 at 3.30 p.m.. The Prime Ministers Harold Macmillan and Constantinos Karamanlis then signed the Zurich – London Agreements (Adnan Menderes signed later, as his plane had crashed while landing at London airport). The Foreign Ministers of the three countries, Archbishop Makarios, representing the Greek Cypriots and Fazil Kucuck, representing the Turkish Cypriots, also signed.

8. THE DEVELOPMENTS AFTER THE SIGNING OF THE TREATIES

How the Zurich-London Agreements were viewed

Archbishop Makarios on 20 February 1959 delivered the following address to the Cypriot people:

"At this moment when the destiny of our historic Island is taking shape, my thoughts turn towards the entire Cyprus people with affection and dedication and my wishes accompany it on its course towards the avenue of freedom and progress, which we are inaugurating today.

333. Nikos Kranidiotis, "Difficult years...", pp. 371-372.

By the agreement signed in London the foundations have been laid for liberty and the independent republic of Cyprus and a new era of prosperity and progress begins for the Cypriot people as a whole. Soon the Cyprus people shall be called upon to freely shape its future and its children's future and shall determinately assume its rights and responsibilities in the liberal arena of noble international cultural competition and cooperation.

I have no doubt whatsoever that you shall prove worthy of the noble traditions of our great civilization. The souls of our ancestors are watching us from the depths of time, as are from the pantheon of heroes the souls of all those, who founded the freedom of Cyprus with their sacrifices and their wonderful struggle. To their sacred memory, and to everybody who fought, suffered and endured for the deliverance of our people from servitude, my thoughts are turned in gratitude at this moment.

I salute in particular the heroic leader of Cyprus' liberation movement, General George Grivas, the Legendary Dighenis, and all the members of the National Organisation of Cypriot Fighters, thanks to whose endeavours and sacrifices we are today able to taste the fruits of freedom. Today's agreement is the result of their struggle and sacrifices and of their patriotic action. In the History of Cyprus they shall always remain the incomparable fighters and the great heroes and champions of freedom.

A bright and hopeful future lies before us. After many centuries of enslavement, the sun of freedom rises again over our Island. Let us not forget, however, that rights have corresponding obligations. A new fighting challenge is now before us, the challenge of peaceful struggle for the progress and greatness of our Island. Let us all the Greek Cypriots take up this challenge and in a spirit of cordial cooperation and love, let us exert every effort jointly with the cohabitant Turkish element in developing and promoting the interests of our country and its elevation to a centre of civilization.

In extending cordial wishes to all the Greek and Turks of Cyprus, I joyfully welcome the Agreement reached and declare my conviction that this day shall be the beginning of a new era of progress and

prosperity for our country."³³⁴

On 21 February, Dighenis received three letters. One was from Bishop Anthimos of Kition, the other from Archbishop Makarios and the third from the Foreign Minister of Greece, Evangelos Averoff.

In his letter, Bishop Anthimos, who had returned from London, referred to the signing of the Zurich - London agreements. He underlined the advantages of the Treaties and asked Dighenis to issue a leaflet welcoming *"the agreement achieved, as the leader of the fighting Cypriot people."* And he added:

*"Now that the greatest part of the way towards the achievement of the national goals of the Cypriot people has been covered, please accept my warm congratulations on the wonderful struggle, which you have waged with skill and ability, in the midst of unimaginable difficulties and vicissitudes against overwhelmingly more numerous and fully equipped enemies. Your name is already inscribed in gilded letters on the first page of Cypriot History and your heroic form shall always remain in the minds of coming generations as the pioneer of Cypriot freedom and as a magnificent champion of the Nation."*³³⁵

Archbishop Makarios' letter, written on 20 February, began as follows:

"After a long and difficult struggle which I carried out in the diplomatic field, in order to bring about improvements in certain parts of the agreement, and having considered the grave consequences that the abortion of the agreement would have had for the Cypriot people and the Cyprus question in general, I deemed that I had the obligation to sign the agreement, by which an immediate end is put to British sovereignty and a minor Greece is created in the area of the Eastern Mediterranean."

The letter concluded as follows:

334. "The Complete Works of Archbishop Makarios III of Cyprus," vol. 3, pp. 226-227.

335. General George Grivas-Dighenis, "Memoirs...", p. 386.

"I am a firm believer in the abilities and virtues of the Cypriot people and I have no doubt whatsoever that the new agreement opens up a new bright and hopeful future for Cyprus..."

At this historic juncture I feel the need to offer you my warm congratulations for your unequalled heroism and for the admirable spirit, which you breathed into the Cypriot people. I am convinced that if we have reached the point of celebrating the happy event of Cyprus' liberation, we basically owe it to your work.

*I think that you should agree with me now that this is a suitable moment for the Organisation to take a clear stand in favour of the agreement. This will be useful in making obvious the unity of the national front."*³³⁶

Evangelos Averoff in his own letter to Dighenis referred to the reasons, which had led to the signing of the Zurich-London Agreements. Two characteristic excerpts are the following:

a) *"Long political and diplomatic struggles, wherever this was possible, struggles which, I assure you, have been carried out with ardent faith and with all the ability our diplomacy possessed, convinced me that the Cyprus problem had reached a dramatic deadlock. We had serious and also specific reasons to fear that this deadlock might lead to a very bad solution. The non-acceptance of faits accomplis and the continuation of fruitless political struggles offer no way out. The realities would have remained real while we sought consolation in fighting..."*

The amazing struggle that you have waged highlighted the issue, I would say it created and nourished it, but however much heroism and ability you possessed, it could not bring about a permanent solution. To the contrary, with the ease the Turks had, as things went bad for them, to turn a revolution against the occupying Power into a bloody bi-communal conflict, the guns could force things towards the imposition of the worst kind of partition.

So I formed the opinion that nothing else remained but only one hope, one manoeuvre: To come to an understanding with the Turks and agree on a compromise solution."

b) *"If the inescapable need for a compromise solution has com-*

pelled us to concede certain 'points of resistance,' I think that what we secured in exchange is indeed of great historical significance for Cyprus and Hellenism at large.

I do not want to dwell on the wider significance of restoring Greek-Turkish relations and the better days this heralds for the Greeks of Constantinople, as well as other related issues, which are important for Greece.

I shall confine myself to what is of direct concern to Cyprus itself, because I feel obliged to say to you at this historic moment, General Grivas, that your amazing struggle has brought many benefits to your beloved homeland.

I wish to add that Prime Minister Mr. Karamanlis, who has since the beginning fought wholeheartedly for the Cyprus problem, fully shares these views. On the occasion of my writing to you, he has asked me to convey along with his sentiments of love and esteem, yet another reassurance: Nothing will be finally agreed, unless the issue of the EOKA fighters is definitely settled."³³⁷

Dighenis replied to the above letter of Averoff's on 22 February and said:

"Judging by what has been communicated to me, since I am not yet aware of the full text of the agreement, I have certain serious objections to the agreement reached and I also have serious doubts concerning the practical implementation of such a complicated system of administration."³³⁸

For the sake of historical truth it must be mentioned that there were also those who disagreed with the signing of the Zurich - London agreements, since it meant the abandonment of the Cypriot people's struggle for self-determination and union of Cyprus with Greece. The three fellow exiles of Archbishop Makarios to the Sey-

336. "The Complete Works of Archbishop Makarios III of Cyprus," vol. 3, pp. 492-493.

337. General George Grivas-Dighenis, "Memoirs...", pp. 388-390.

338. Ibid, p. 390.



The political prisoners were released on 22 February 1959 amid enthusiastic celebrations all over Cyprus.

chelles were among them: the Kyrenia Bishop Kyprianos, Papastavros Papagathangelou and Polycarpos Ioannides.

All the political prisoners were set free on 22 February 1959 amid enthusiastic celebration throughout Cyprus.

The return of Archbishop Makarios to Cyprus and his enthusiastic welcome by the people

Archbishop Makarios, who had been expelled from Cyprus on 9 March 1956 on Harding's orders, returned to his country on 1 March 1959. He was met at the airport by Governor Sir Hug Foot, Bishop Anthimos of Kition, the Suffragan Bishop Gennadios of Salamis, the Acting Consul General of Greece Aristotelis Frydas and other officials.

The Archbishop, standing up in an open car, waved to the crowds that had lined the streets of Nicosia to welcome their religious and national leader. Low-flying helicopters released white doves over

the procession all along the way from the airport to the Archbishopric.

An imposing arch had been set up at the Archbishopric bearing the inscription "Welcome." The caretaker of the Archbishopric, abbots, archimandrites and many others were there to meet the Archbishop. Thousands of people who had flooded the area around the Archiepiscopal Palace, cheered the Archbishop lively. Trumpet players and drummers from the Pancyprrian Gymnasium across the road saluted his entry into the Palace. A celebratory mass followed in St John's Cathedral, attended by dignitaries and parents of the EOKA dead. At the end of the doxology the Archbishop appeared before the thousands of people, who were delirious with enthusiasm. Bishop Anthimos of Kition addressed the Archbishop, who then delivered a speech of historic significance, referring to the EOKA Struggle and to the obligations of all the citizens. Two extracts from the Archbishop's speech are the following:

a) *"Heroes of Cyprus! Your sacrifices have not been in vain. The glorious epic, which you have written, today opens a bright new era in history; an era of freedom; an era of progress and prosperity. The seed that you have sown is already yielding a rich crop. The tree of liberty, which you have watered with your blood, today offers its tasty fruit. From your Calvary has sprung forth the Resurrection of our country. From your graves has sprung forth the unequalled beauty of Liberty.*

Those were the martyrs. But our struggle for freedom is adorned by a host of heroes, headed by General George Grivas, the legendary DIGHENIS, whose name has filled the most glorious pages of Cypriot history. This wonderful man and the brave fighters of EOKA we honour, at this solemn hour, with our deepest gratitude and highest esteem. Let us turn our thoughts to them and let us reflect that without their heroism, our day of freedom would still be far off, without their efforts the day of victory would have been unattainable."

b) *"Centuries of waiting and expectation, centuries of endurance and sacrifice are at this moment watching our course in history. Let us exert every effort to prove ourselves worthy of the noble mission,*

*which divine providence has reserved for us. Let us be proud and undaunted and generous in the struggle for peace and prosperity. Make part of your conscience the power that is today laid in your hands."*³³⁹

Dighenis' dilemma in accepting the Zurich - London Agreements

Following the signing of the London-Zurich Agreements, Dighenis was faced with a dilemma: Should he continue the struggle or accept the agreements and order a ceasefire? Having weighed all the facts, mainly the signing of the Agreements by the Greek Government and Archbishop Makarios, he reached the sorrowful conclusion that he should accept the realities and order a ceasefire, in order to avoid a national split, which would have unforeseeable negative consequences for Hellenism and especially Cyprus. Before he issued a leaflet to this effect, arrangements were made on the following matters:

The Governor accepted to grant a general amnesty to all EOKA fighters. The fighters who were in England would be released and go to Greece, and so it was done. They returned to the island after the establishment of the Cyprus Republic. Dighenis could go to Greece following special arrangements.

On 9 March 1959, Dighenis distributed a leaflet with which he declared the end of the EOKA armed struggle. The full text of the leaflet was as follows:

" TO THE GREEK CYPRIOT PEOPLE

When on 1st April 1955 I raised the standard of the revolutionary movement, I set as my aim the liberation of Cyprus and I asked for the support of the Greek Cypriot people and the solidarity of the entire Nation, which were fully given me during our difficult four-year struggle.

339. "The Complete Works of Archbishop Makarios III of Cyprus," vol. 3, pp. 234, 236.

Following the Zurich agreement between the Governments of Greece and Turkey, which Archbishop Makarios has endorsed, I am obliged

TO ORDER THE CESSATION OF THE STRUGGLE.

He who would not accept the agreement and continues the struggle would be causing a SPLIT not of the Cypriot people only, but possibly also of the entire Nation; and the consequences of a national split would be infinitely more disastrous than those which, according to some, the solution given will bring.

As for me, this solution is preferable, even though it is not the one we anticipated as satisfying our desires, to a national split, because in such a split WE SHALL LOSE EVERYTHING.

Instead of the war- cry today I shall sound for CONCORD, UNITY, LOVE, so that on the ruins and the ashes of the Cypriot epic, shining with glory and national greatness, you will build the new edifice of the young Republic.

It is up to its protagonists to lead it on the road to prosperity and progress. As for me, resolved not to get involved in politics and public life, neither in Cyprus nor in Greece, I shall follow from afar with anxiety the steps of my long-suffering and bloodstained Country and share with you your joy and sorrow.

I have a clear conscience because I have done my duty; it was a political job to turn to account the epic efforts of the Cypriot people. And politics has used them as it could or as it thought best.

NOW WE MUST OBEY.

Rally ALL OF YOU, UNITED, around the ETHNARCH, who constitutes today the symbol of UNITY and STRENGTH and help him in his difficult work.

This is my wish, to which I call on everybody to conform.

E.O.K.A. THE LEADER DIGHENIS.³⁴⁰

There followed an order of Dighenis "To the fighters of EOKA," a

340. General George Grivas-Dighenis, "Memoirs...", p. 403.

letter to "The Brave Fighters of EOKA" and a letter "To the EOKA Youth (A.N.E.)."

The letter to ANE, written on 13 March 1959, was a tribute to the spirited youth of EOKA and an exhortation to new, peaceful struggles. Dighenis wrote:

"I gloried in you. I admired you. My soul quickened to your national manifestations. I felt your pulse, which pushed me to my most daring decisions, for I knew I would always find you by my side, a loyal but also a brave activist.

You charted the course, which youth should follow in the endeavours of the Nation. Your example shall inspire the future generations. Cyprus, Hellenism and I, your Leader, take pride in you. Soon I shall painfully break away from you. But I leave you a bequest, which you must follow:

Your mission is not over with the end of the fighting struggle. Now the peaceful struggle begins, to turn to account all that which we have won with blood. Attached devotedly to the notion of the Country, united in solid ranks, disciplined as soldiers of the Country, you should flank the architect of the new edifice, the ETHNARCH, and help him in his work. In the same way that you have shown your valour in the armed confrontation with the oppressor, so you must prove valiant, disciplined, hardworking in confronting the difficulties of creating a new state for peaceful survival.

I thank you, I congratulate you and admire you for the work you have done until today. I shall live with the hope of returning to Cyprus some day, to feast my eyes on you again and to relive the atmosphere filled with your national heartbeats.

And that day shall be the happiest in my life.

I bid you farewell, leaving all my love behind for you.

E.O.K.A. THE LEADER DIGHENIS.³⁴¹

341. General George Grivas-Dighenis, "Memoirs...", p. 405.



Mothers of the martyred EOKA heroes were honoured in a ceremony after the end of the struggle.

An emotional meeting took place on 15 March 1959 between Dighenis and his section commanders and close associates, during which he urged them to display unity and love.

On the night of 16 March, Dighenis went to the Greek Consulate in Nicosia, from which he would depart on the following day for the airport. On 17 March, he flew on the airplane of the Greek Prime Minister to Athens. The EOKA leader was deeply moved when he stepped onto the soil of the Motherland after an absence of 41/2 years.

Manifestations in honour of Dighenis

A triumphant welcome by officials and thousands of people awaited Dighenis at Athens. The Cypriot newspaper "Eleftheria" published a comprehensive description of the EOKA leader's reception in its edition of 18 March 1959:

"All the church bells of Athens began to toll at one o'clock in the afternoon, announcing the impending arrival of Dighenis, all the

shops, offices and schools hoisted the Greek flag and closed down for the day, while endless waves of people surged in the direction where the EOKA Leader would pass. The massive crowds occupied every space along the way. Archbishop Theoklitos of Athens and President of the Pan-Hellenic Committee for the Liberation of Cyprus gave an enthusiastic welcoming address for Dighenis at the airport and placed a silver wreath on his head, in the presence of the Foreign Minister Mr. Averoff and the Minister to the Prime Minister Mr. Tsatsos, as well as representatives of the Armed Forces and many others. The Mayor of Athens Mr. Pavsanias, having saluted Dighenis with an inspiring speech on behalf of Athens and the whole of Greece, proclaimed him to be worthy of the Motherland."

On 18 March 1959 the Greek Parliament passed a special law, by which Colonel George Grivas Dighenis was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant General. The Leaders of all the parties spoke enthusiastically of his contribution and expressed their admiration and gratitude for the EOKA Leader. Finally, the Greek Parliament by resolution proclaimed him as being "Worthy of the Motherland."

Many other honorary distinctions and awards were bestowed on Dighenis for the exceedingly difficult task he had carried out with the EOKA Struggle. The Greek Government, the Church of Greece, King Paul, the Municipal Council of Athens, the Athens Academy and other bodies honoured and decorated him.

In an official ceremony held on 24 March 1959, the Academy of Athens awarded him its gold metal, the highest distinction of this supreme Institution of Greece. The President of the Academy, Spyros Melas, said that the Academy of Athens 'decorates not only the legendary hero and the unrivalled victor of a great, beautiful, most difficult and hard struggle, but also its inspired organizer, who, by his high example, courageous virtues and wise guidance, has elevated young boys and maidens to the rostrum of unconquered heroes, who overcame the multitudinous army of an empire.'³⁴²

342. "An Album of General George Grivas Dighenis (1916-1974)," Published by the EOKA Fighters' Associations, Athens 1995, p. 18.



*The hideout of the EOKA leader Dighenis
where he died on 27 January 1974.*

The establishment of the Republic of Cyprus - Its functioning under the Constitution set up by the Zurich - London Agreements

After the end of the EOKA liberation struggle, preparations got under way for the establishment of the new independent state based on the Zurich - London Agreements. Once the Constitution of the Republic of Cyprus had been drawn up, a formal ceremony of its establishment took place on 16 August 1960, with Archbishop Makarios as President and Fazil Kutchuk as Vice-President. It was the beginning of a new era for Cyprus, which had acquired its freedom after 769 years. But the 1960 Constitution presented many difficulties on account of its divisive provisions, as it separated the Cyprus people into Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots.

Noted below are the most important advantages and disadvantages that emerged in the application of the Zurich - London Agreements.

A) Advantages

1) The British colonial regime was terminated. The British who had ruled Cyprus for 82 years, abandoned the administration of the island and the Cypriot people took over the responsibility and the power of deciding its future.

2) Cyprus as an independent state became the 99th member of the United Nations on 20 September 1960. Its voice can be heard in the international organization ever since, both on issues of its own and international ones.

3) On 14 March 1961, it became a member of the British Commonwealth and on 24 March 1961 a member of the Council of Europe.

4) As an independent state it has the right to conclude international treaties on cultural and other issues. The exercise of this right has contributed to the progress and prosperity of its people.

5) The partition of the island, which had been the aim of the British and Turkish Governments, was avoided.

B) Disadvantages

1) The purpose for which the liberation struggle of EOKA had been waged was not achieved. In this struggle, 108 fighters sacrificed their lives, many others were wounded, tortured, imprisoned, held in camps, suffered material damage, without being able to see the realization of union with Greece. In addition, there were victims among other people.

2) The settlement of the Cyprus problem was brokered by the Governments of Britain, Greece and Turkey. The Cypriots were absent from the negotiating table. When the solution was ready with the Zurich-London Agreements, they were called upon to sign or reject them. They did not have the right to make any changes. There prevailed then the colonial spirit of Britain, which ignored the principle of the self-determination of peoples, solemnly proclaimed by the UN on 16 December 1952. Efforts by Archbishop Makarios to improve on some of the points of the Agreements in London failed and finally the Cypriot Ethnarch succumbed to moral pressure and accepted them.

3) By the signing of the Zurich - London Agreements, Turkey was officially recognized as an interested party in the Cypriot state and became one of the three guarantor powers of the Republic of Cyprus, together with Britain and Greece. The proposal by Bevan in the House of Commons in October 1958 for a just solution to the Cyprus problem was not accepted. The Labour MP had openly stated: "It is time we stopped sacrificing British lives in Cyprus, in order to satisfy the demands of the Turks. It is irrational to suggest that the 18% of the island should cancel out the wishes of the 80%. Why aren't we more persistent on this issue?"³⁴³

4) The Zurich - London Agreements contained divisive elements for the Cyprus people. They provided for the functioning of two Communal Assemblies, which would have jurisdiction on all religious, educational and cultural matters. Another provision created separate municipalities in all the five major towns of Cyprus. The Council of Ministers was composed of a Greek President and a Turkish Vice-President, seven Greek and three Turkish Ministers. The House of Representatives included 35 Greek deputies and 15 Turks.

5) The Greek majority in the Council of Ministers and in the House of Representatives had a veto power over foreign policy issues and on major issues of defence and security. On substantial decisions of the House of Representatives, such as taxation, a separate majority of Greeks and Turks was required.

6) When the Zurich - London Agreements were signed, the ratio of the Cyprus population was 82% Greeks and 18% Turks. This ratio was not observed. The provisions of the Agreements gave preferential treatment to the Turks. In the Executive and the Legislative the Greeks secured 70% and the Turks 30%. The Supreme Constitutional Court was composed of three members, one Greek, one Turk and a neutral President. The same ratio of 70% Greeks and 30% Turks also held for the Civil Service and the Police, while for the Army it was 60% for the Greeks and 40% for the Turks.

343. Leontios Ierodiakonou, "The Cyprus Problem," p. 329.

The above ratios secured for the Turks prerogatives disproportional to their numerical power. Furthermore, these arrangements abolished the standards for the appointment and advancement of the most suitable persons according to merit. They were replaced by communal criteria.

In conclusion, it can be said about the Zurich - London Agreements that they set up a Constitution, the implementation of which was fraught with difficulties on account of the divisive elements it contained. The problem of the Cypriot people was not treated as the problem of a single people and the rights of the Turkish Cypriots were not safeguarded by guarantees, as is the case in other countries. The developments have shown that the Governments of Britain, Greece and Turkey did not settle the Cyprus issue in order to render justice to a people fighting for its freedom, but in order to repair the good relations between Greece and Turkey as NATO members, which had been disturbed during the years of the EOKA liberation struggle. The foreign policy of the USA, which supported British policy, and NATO itself were also factors that contributed to this outcome.

An announcement by the President of the Republic of Cyprus in November 1963 for the revision of 13 articles of the Constitution causes tension in the relations between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots

The President of the Republic Archbishop Makarios on 5 August 1963 formally announced his intention to revise the Constitution, because certain of its articles were inapplicable and threatened to bring the state machinery to a grinding halt. The Vice-President Fazil Kutcuck stated that such an attempt on the part of the Greek Cypriots "would not be binding on the Turkish Cypriot community." The Turkish Government unequivocally supported the Turkish Cypriot stand.

The President of the Republic had the draft on the 13 revision proposals ready by 30 November and invited the Vice President to discuss the issue with him. A copy of the draft was sent to the Gov-

ernments of Britain, Greece and Turkey for their information. Even before the Vice-President of the Republic had given any answer on the issue, the Foreign Minister of Turkey Mr. Erkin stated on 6 December that the Turkish Government dismissed the proposals by the President of the Cyprus Republic. The Turkish Cypriots towed Ankara's line, resulting in the exacerbation of their relations with the Greek Cypriots.

On the night of 20 to 21 December 1963, an incident occurred in a Nicosia quarter, when Greek Cypriot policemen were fired upon by Turkish Cypriots. A Greek policeman was injured. The policemen returned the fire, killing two Turkish Cypriots. The clashes between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots spread throughout Nicosia and to other parts of Cyprus. The Turkish Cypriot Ministers and Deputies withdrew from the Government and the House of Representatives ever since and remained in areas under Turkish Cypriot control. The aim of the Turkish Cypriots and of Turkey was to create Turkish cantons, which would in the future develop into a Turkish Cypriot administration in a compact area. The ultimate aim was the realization of the Turkish designs of partitioning Cyprus. The Turkish Cypriot enclaves were formed in December 1963 and became reinforced in the next years.

A military coup on 15 July 1974 brought about the temporary removal of the President of the Cyprus Republic Archbishop Makarios from power and gave Turkey the opportunity to invade Cyprus and occupy 37% of its territory, with tragic consequences for the Cypriot people.

The Turkish occupation unfortunately continues to this day, despite numerous resolutions that have been passed by the United Nations Security Council. Three decades on, the Cyprus people is still fighting for the liberation of its occupied lands in the hope that its struggle will be vindicated by the application of the principles of the United Nations Charter.

EPILOGUE

The EOKA liberation Struggle that began on 1st April 1955 aiming at the union of Cyprus with Greece, did not reach the desired outcome, despite the heroic exploits of the fighters, which unfolded under extremely adverse circumstances.

What the English newspapers wrote during the Struggle demonstrates the forcefulness and cohesion of the fighters, who strove for a much-cherished ideal.

The Cyprus correspondent of the "Observer" wrote:

"The military as well as the political authorities in Cyprus now admit that it is impossible to defeat EOKA in the same way that the Mau-Mau were defeated."

The Cyprus correspondent of another newspaper, the "Daily Herald," reported the following: *"The British plan for Cyprus is the cause of the bloodshed on the island. Cyprus belongs to the Cypriots. EOKA is not a gang, but a nationalist team, very well organized, which has the support of the large majority of the Greek population of Cyprus, and it is impossible to defeat."*

The same paper admitted: *"A marshal, three generals and 40,000 soldiers have not proved capable of defeating EOKA."*

Another newspaper, "The Spectator," wrote that the British Government had brought about the conflict with EOKA and that the latter was winning.

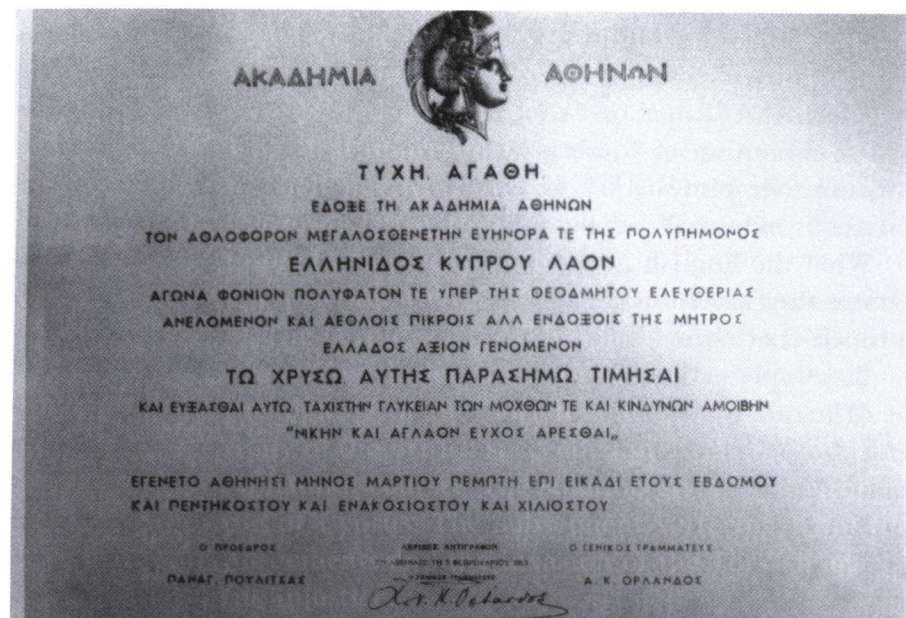
The conservative "Daily Mail" in an article about Dighenis noted that he could be classified among the greatest guerrillas of all time.

It is worth recalling also the opinion of the English Marshal Montgomery, who came to Cyprus on 1 July 1957 to study local military problems and in particular the relocation of the Headquarters from Kenya to Cyprus. He clearly stated:

"Militarily, the defeat of EOKA is impossible."³⁴⁴

Many praises were said about the spirit of sacrifice and the un-

344. General George Grivas - Dighenis, "Memoirs...", pp.327-328, 192.



In recognition of the struggles the Greek people of Cyprus have waged for freedom, the Athens Academy awarded them the Gold Metal, its highest honour.

equalled heroism of the fighters after the struggle. The greatest honour belongs, of course, to the Leader Dighenis, who prepared and so successfully conducted a particular Struggle against the odds, under the most difficult conditions.

The Cypriot writer Spyros Papageorgiou wrote about the Leader of EOKA:

"Great in vision and patriotism, he adopted a code name of excessive greatness.^(Transl. N. 12) His responsibility was self-evident. He could not permit himself to belittle or make a fool of the Byzantine hero. A mortal himself, he had to live up to a legend, who had sur-

Transl. n. 12. Dighenis was a legendary Byzantine hero who fought against the infidels. Natural landmarks in Cyprus are named after him.

vived in the souls and the minds of successive Greek generations; from the mid-Balkans and the coasts of the Black Sea as far as Cyprus. Indeed, for four years and more he took on His epic, and won! It is unprecedented in history. A man made of flesh and bone to challenge worthily a legendary giant and to prevail. Since 1955, Cyprus is left with two Dighenises. One of the legend, eternally attested by the rocky palm on Pentadaktylos range, the other of the reality, George Grivas."³⁴⁵

The heroic spirit of the champions of Cypriot liberty and the international declarations for the freedom of peoples, were ignored at the signing of the Zurich-London Agreements. The diplomatic activity of the British succeeded in diverting the Cyprus problem from its natural course. The solution given to it wronged the Greek people of Cyprus. The subsequent suffering from the Zurich-London Agreements and the invasion of the Turkish army in 1974 added to the injustice.

The continuing violation of fundamental principles of the United Nations Charter, and the human rights violations by the Turkish invasion forces in particular, are an unacceptable phenomenon for civilization in the 21st century. The present situation must be terminated the soonest possible. Injustice must be set right and the conditions created, which will enable the Cypriot people to live in a climate of peace, freedom and justice. This is the demand of our modern age.

345. Spyros Papageorgiou, "The Cyprus Tempest 1955-1959," p.90.

Some facts about the EOKA Liberation Struggle

Martyred heroes killed: 108

Victims of the Struggle: 50

Killed by the Turks: 80

Members of guerrilla groups: 340

Political convicts: approx. 1,000

Political detainees: approx. 3,300

Members of EOKA, PEKA and ANE: approx. 25,000

The casualties of the enemy are estimated at approximately 400 dead and approximately 1,000 wounded.

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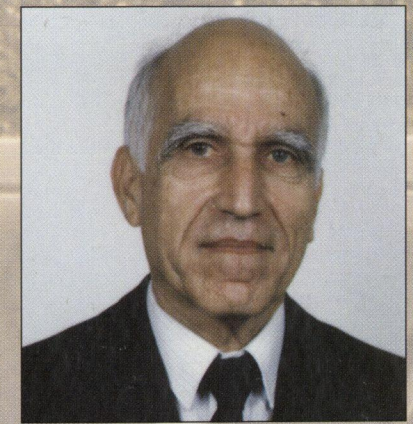
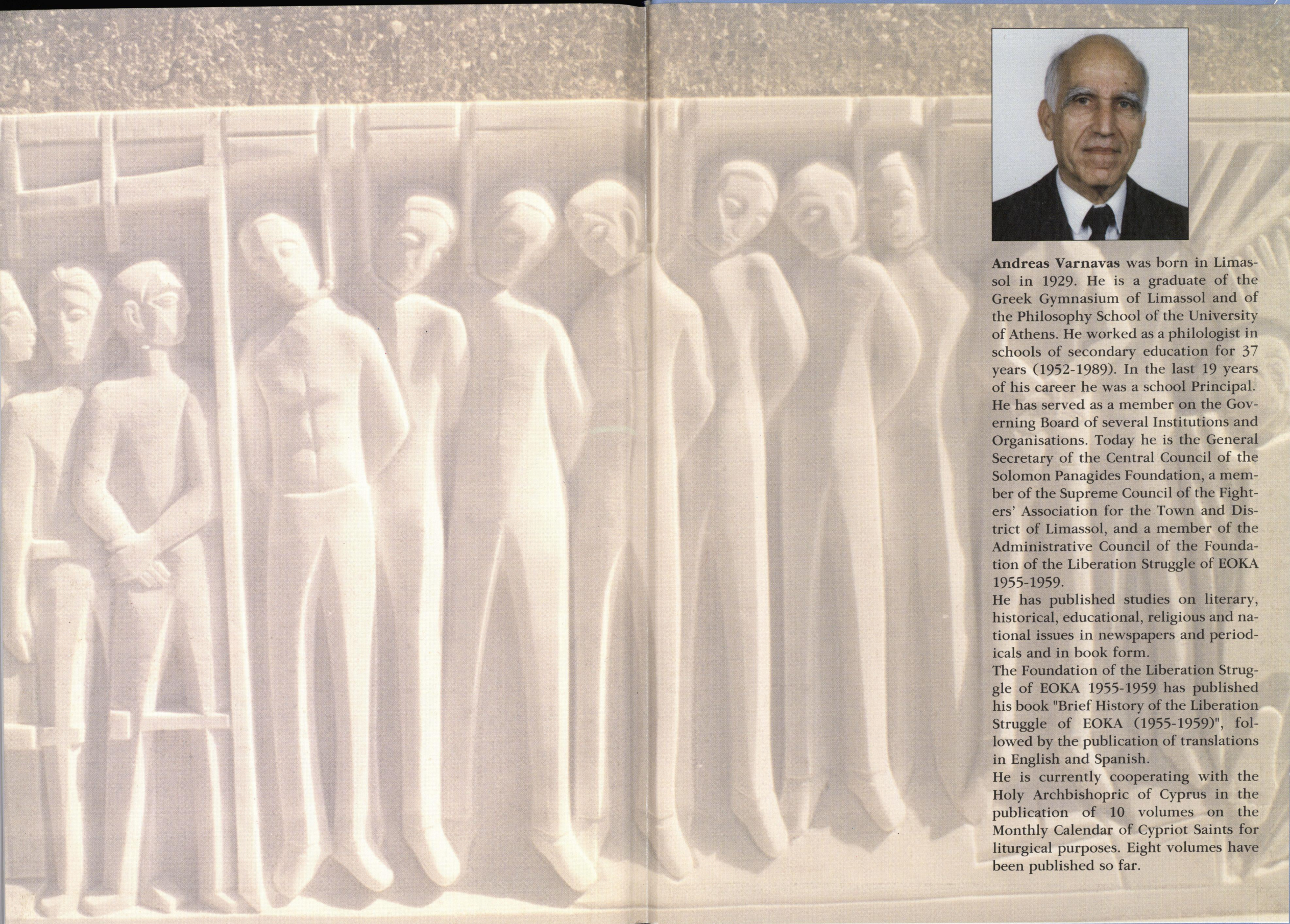
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Note: The names of Archbishop Makarios III, George Grivas-Dighe-
 nis and EOKA are omitted in the index as they are encountered very
 often in the pages of the book.



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